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ABSTRACT

This report contains the processings of three days of subcommittee hearings examining the influence that governmental policies have on American families. In order to look at the pressures and trends affecting American families, the hearings studied governmental policies in areas such as work, institutionalization, mobility, taxes, welfare, housing, and support services. The subcommittee seeks to identify and make changes in arbitrary policies that place hardships on families with children to develop policies that provide alternative ways of strengthening families, and to determine how to provide more options for families. The report includes statements from the following speakers: Vincent Barabba, Andrew Billingsley, Harvey Brazer, Urie Bronfenbrenner, Robert Coles, Gunnar Dybwad, Sophie Engel, William Genne, Chris Hobgood, James McHugh, Margaret Mead, James O'Toole, George Williams, and Edward Zigler. Several Relevant articles, charts, and tables accompany the report. (Author/LAA)

ED 086935

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AMERICAN FAMILIES: TRENDS AND PRESSURES, 1973

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

EXAMINATION OF THE INFLUENCE THAT GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES HAVE ON AMERICAN FAMILIES

SEPTEMBER 24, 25, AND 26, 1973

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EDUCATION & WELFARE
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Printed for the use of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

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AMERICAN FAMILIES: TRENDS AND PRESSURES, 1973

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1973

U.S. Senate,
Subcommittee on Children and Youth
of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10 a.m. in room 4232, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator Walter F. Mondale (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Mondale and Stafford.

Committee staff members present: A. Sidney Johnson III and Ellen Hoffman, professional staff members; and John K. Scales, minority counsel.

Senator Mondale. The Subcommittee on Children and Youth will come to order.

Today we begin 3 days of hearings on the trends and pressures affecting American families, predicated upon the simple belief that nothing is more important to a child than a healthy family.

During my 9 years in the Senate, I have probably devoted more of my time to working with the problems of children than to any other issue. I have seen many ways in which public and private programs have helped children and many other ways in which they can and should help them. But as good as some of our public and private institutions can be—and we have some excellent schools and foster homes—it has become increasingly clear to me that there is just no substitute for a healthy family—nothing else that can give a child as much love, support, confidence, motivation or feelings of self-worth and self-respect.

Yet, it is also clear that we tend to take families for granted—seldom recognize the pressures they are under—and often give too little consideration to the role they can play in the prevention and solution of children's problems. We frequently ignore the implications of changes like the recent increase of one-parent families.

The 1970 White House Conference on Children called this "a national neglect of children and those primarily engaged in their care—America's parents." And we are paying a high price for this neglect: (1) Teenage alcoholism and drug abuse are growing problems; (2) suicide among young people is increasing geometrically to the point where it is now the second ranking cause of death for Americans between the ages of 15 and 24; (3) juvenile delinquency is becoming so widespread that according to predictions one out of every nine youngsters will have been to juvenile court by the time he reaches age 18; (4) and now we are discovering how pervasive this problem of child abuse is—a sickening sign that something is seriously wrong.

If we expect to deal successfully with these problems we must begin paying more attention to the needs of families. And we must start by asking to what extent Government policies are helping or hurting families, and what kinds of support services should be available.

These hearings are designed to encourage exactly that kind of re-examination; they seek to explore how Government policies in areas such as work, institutionalization, mobility, taxes, welfare, and housing influences the lives of American families.

The task of considering the impact of policies on families and children will not be easy. Values, jobs, lifestyles, and needs vary widely. To envision a single model family or a single way to raise children would do great damage to the pluralism and diversity that makes our country strong; would be beyond the legitimate concerns of Government; and could produce at least as serious problems as ignoring altogether the impact of policies on families.

Our goals will be to identify and seek changes in arbitrary policies that place hardships on families with children; to develop policies that provide alternative ways of strengthening families; and to determine how we can provide the options and choices that families need to do their best job.

If we can make some progress toward these goals, and help make the question of how governmental policies affect families a larger part of the decisionmaking process, I believe we will have taken an important step toward increasing justice and opportunity for the children and youth of our Nation.

We will now receive for the record a statement from the senior Senator from Massachusetts, Edward M. Kennedy, who is a very active member of this Subcommittee and whose views on this matter are very much respected.

STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD M. KENNEDY, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS

Senator KENNEDY. I am pleased to have this opportunity as a member of the Subcommittee on Children and Youth to express my concern for the need to fully explore the issue of "American Families: Trends and Pressures."

Families are our most important social institutions. Through them, children are socialized and developed to meet the demands of society and its organizations. The quality of family life contributes significantly to the kind of individuals our society will produce and the kind of world we will have to live in. Statistics about our children and our families indicate that the modern family is continually going thru important changes. High divorce rates, declining birth rates, rejection by youth of traditional family styles, and the alarming estimate of a half million teenagers running away from home every year are some of the powerful influences on today's family members. Many observers see that these forces have resulted from increased mobility in our society and the changing roles of mothers and the children. But some events have led social science experts to fear that other changes may surely destroy the basic fabric of the family as we know it.

In the past, the functioning of the family and its members has not been a concern of policymakers but was considered the rightful province of the parents. It was wrongly assumed that all families function in the structured and narrow definition of the two-parent family with a working father, a homemaking mother, and dependent children. However, the increase of one-parent families has forced us to realize that other family structures are also prevalent in current society. America's families include extended kinships, fóster homes and guardianships. Regardless of the family structure, these families function to provide the same guidance and support that all families must offer to socialize our children and to prepare them to cope with the demands of society. Family structures other than the traditional nuclear family have faced problems in trying to provide for their children's needs. In the case of female-headed households and especially those receiving public aid, the problems are enormous.

During the course of these hearings, a highly qualified group of witnesses will examine the various family forms, and the ways that Government policies may strengthen the efforts to assist the members of America's families.

If we are truly interested in the future and well-being of American children, then it is hopeful that these hearings will bring together the forces needed to bridge the gap between the family and saving them. Mr. Chairman, you deserve full credit for bringing together these vitally resourceful witnesses, and I am pleased to offer any assistance that I can to help with this important matter.

Senator Mondale. Our first witness this morning is Vincent Barabba, Director, Bureau of the Census. May I say we are very pleased to have you with us today. I share with anyone who has worked in the human fields a constant and growing admiration for the work of the Bureau of the Census. We are delighted to have you, and we want you to know how deeply we appreciate the continuing work of your remarkable Department. If you will proceed.

STATEMENT OF HON. VINCENT P. BARABBA, DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, ACCOMPANIED BY DANIEL B. LEVINE, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR FOR DEMOGRAPHIC FIELDS, BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, AND DR. PAUL C. GLICK, SENIOR DEMOGRAPHER, POPULATION DIVISION, BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

Mr. Barabba. Thank you, Senator. I have brought with me today, perhaps as an example of some of the kind of comments you have just made, the individuals who have helped lead to this reputation: Mr. Daniel Levine, on my left, associate director for demographic fields; and Dr. Paul Glick, senior demographer at the Bureau.

With your permission, Senator, I would perhaps read only a portion of the statement we have prepared, and we could move more quickly to questions.

Senator Mondale. I have read the statement. It might be helpful to hit the high points in any event.

Mr. Barabba. The typical family undergoes numerous substantial changes during the cycle of married life, from marriage through childbearing, children leaving home, and the eventual dissolution of marriage with the death of one spouse. The typical family itself has changed greatly over the past 20 years because marriage is now occurring about a year later, couples are having approximately one less child, and more couples are surviving jointly for a longer time after their children marry. Many more unmarried persons, especially young people and the elderly, have been establishing or continuing to maintain separate living arrangements apart from relatives.

The Bureau of the Census defines a family as a group of two or more related persons who live together in a house or apartment. Most families include a married couple who maintain a household, and two out of every three of the couples have children or other relatives sharing their living quarters. Statistics on families thus defined are available for dates back to 1940. Ever since 1940, close to 85 percent of all families were of the "husband-wife" type.

Although the number of families with a female head has constituted only about 10 to 12 percent of the families since 1940, these families are of special interest in the context of the problems of children and youth, and their numbers have been increasing rapidly during the last few years. During the 1960's these families increased twice as much as they had increased during the 1950's. In fact, during the 1960's they increased by a million (from 4.5 to 5.6 million), and by 1973 they had increased another million (to 6.6 million). The increase has been concentrated largely among families of divorced or separated women.

Among white families in 1973, only 10 percent had a woman as the head, whereas among Negro families, 35 percent of the heads were women. Thus, the problem of female heads of families is disproportionately a problem of black families. Moreover, divorced women are twice as numerous as separated women among white female heads of families, whereas the situation is the reverse among Negro female heads.

The substantial increase in the number of families with a female head is related to many factors, including the sharply upward trend in separation and divorce during the 1960's and early 1970's, the rapid rise in female employment during the 1960's, the absence of many husbands from the home for service in the Armed Forces, and the continued increase in unwed motherhood.

Along with the increase in families with a female head has come an increase during the 1960's and 1970's from 8 percent to 14 percent in the proportion of persons under 18 years of age who were living with their mother only. This inevitably has meant that the proportion of young children living with both parents has been declining. Among Negro children under 18 years of age in 1973, the proportion living with both parents was only 52 percent, whereas 38 percent were living with their mother only, and 10 percent lived apart from their mother. Among whites, 87 percent were living with both parents.

Two interpretations can be given to the "average size of family": (1) the average number of children a woman bears during her lifetime and (2) the average number of family members who live together in a household including parents, children, and other relatives.

According to the first interpretation, the average number of children per family among the children who were growing up around 1900 was four (about 4.3). By 1940 the average had dropped all the way down to two children—about 2.3—but by 1960 it had risen again to three children—about 3.3. The decline in fertility during the 1960's and early 1970's has once again lowered the average number of children to two per woman—approximately 2.4.

The second interpretation of the size of family cannot be traced back to 1900. However, in 1940 the average number of persons related to each other and living together as one household was 3.8 persons. This figure declined by 1950 to 3.5 as the consequence of changes that occurred during the years of World War II and the immediately following period. By 1960 it had risen slightly to 3.7 as a consequence of the baby boom and remained at about that level throughout the 1960's. However, the effect of the declining birth rate in recent years has caused the average size of family, in this second sense, to fall once again by 1973 to 3.5 persons (3.48). Thus, the average number of family members has fluctuated since 1940 within the rather narrow range of 3.5 to 3.8 persons.

An important consideration in family analysis is the distribution of members between three age groups: the dependent young members, members in the main productive age range, commonly accepted as 18 to 64 years old, and the elderly.

In 1973, the average number of members per family was 3.5, of whom 1.3 were in the young group, 2.0 were in the intermediate group, and 0.3 were in the elderly group.

As youths mature they generally leave their parental home to attend college, to obtain employment, and/or to marry. The median age at (first) marriage is now 23 years for men and 21 years for women. This is nearly 1 year older than the corresponding ages in the mid-1950's. Since men are usually older than women at marriage, they usually leave home at a slightly older age.

Yet for both sexes combined, approximately one-fourth of the children 15 to 19 years of age have left home, and a large majority of those who have left home must be 18 or 19 years old. Only one-tenth of the children living with their parents are over 20 years of age, and the majority of them are 20 to 24 years old.

The term "household" is used——

Senator MONDALE. I am interested in this question of family units with three generations in them. Is it correct that less than 5 percent of the families today or households today have three generations living in them?

Mr. BARABBA. That is correct.

Senator MONDALE. Two and a half million were grandchildren of the family head, 2.3 million were parents of the head or wife, 2.1 million were brothers or sisters of the head or wife, one-half million were sons or daughters-in-law of the head, and the remaining 1.3 million were uncles or aunts, cousins, et cetera.

Do you have figures on the trend of three generational families in this country?

Mr. GLICK. The trend has been downward. As families have become better able to maintain themselves separately, that is one of the ways they have chosen to make use of the additional income that is available to them.

If you would like, we would be happy to prepare an exhibit on that.

Senator MONDALE. Could you provide us with some information on what has happened over the years insofar as the data reports it, in terms of the 3-generation households?

Mr. GLICK. We shall be glad to do so.

[The information subsequently supplied follows:]

Three- or four-generation families by composition of the family, for the United States: 1970 and 1960

(Numbers in thousands)

Family composition	1970	1960	Change, 1960-1970	
			Number	Percent
All families	51,143	45,149	5,994	13.3
3- or 4-generation families	2,235	2,477	- 242	-9.8
Percent of all families	4.4	5.5	-	-
3-generation families	2,220	2,438	- 218	-8.9
Parent, head, grandchildren	14	13	1	7.7
Parent, head, children:				
With children of any age	1,109	1,347	- 238	-17.7
With children under 25	1,070	1,310	- 240	-18.3
With children under 18	942	1,224	- 282	-23.0
With children under 6	330	557	- 227	-40.8
Head, children, grandchildren:				
With children of any age	1,097	1,078	19	1.8
With children under 25	714	574	140	24.4
With children under 18	447	345	102	29.6
With children under 6	83	66	17	25.8
4-generation families--Parent, head, children, grandchildren	35	39	- 4	-10.3

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, Vol. II, 4A, Family Composition, table 17; and 1960 Census of Population, Vol. II, 4A, Families, table 18.

Senator **Mondale**. I hear more complaints from senior citizens now as I go around that they are not too sure that this whole idea of being separated out on an age basis was as good an idea as they thought it was. I wonder whether we are not paying costs that are difficult to quantify in terms of removing the grandparents from the household. Those are difficult things to evaluate, I am sure. And I am certain that choice ought to be up to those involved.

But I would like to get those figures, if I could, because I would suspect, as your figures show on another side, that there has been a rapid separation of age groups in that sense.

Mr. **Glick**. I think we sense a need for information on how close these older persons live to their war relatives. If it is not too far away, they can maintain contact. We need information to supplement our knowledge about this situation.

Senator **Mondale**. Thank you.

Mr. **Barabba**. Another way of looking at the inner relationship, Senator, is through the measurement of the household situation, and again giving operational definition of what we mean here, the term household is used by the Bureau of the Census to mean the entire number of persons who occupy a house or apartment that constitutes separate living quarters. Most households have a family as the core members, but they may include partners, lodgers, or resident employees, and, again, they may consist of one person living alone.

With the aging of the population, the expansion of social security benefits, and the increasing availability of housing, the number of elderly persons who maintain a household after all of their relatives have left home has increased quite rapidly in recent decades. Moreover, an increasing number of young unmarried persons have been maintaing a home apart from relatives. Consequently, the number of these "primary individuals" with no relatives sharing their living quarters has increased from 10 percent of all household heads in 1940 to 20 percent in 1973.

Because the rate of household increase has exceeded the rate of population growth since 1940, the average size of household has declined. In 1940, the average size of household was 3.7 persons; by 1960 it was 3.3 and by 1973 it was only 3 persons. This decline reflects the net effect of changes in the birth rate and the decrease in doubling up of married couples with their relatives as well as the large increase in the number of one-person households among both the young and the elderly.

Most of the people who change their residences move as family groups or in connection with the formation or dissolution of a family. Every year about 20 percent of the population moves to a different residence. However, from 1948 to 1971, there has been little change in the pattern or percent of persons who report having moved in the preceding year, except for some recent decline in local movement. With minor fluctuations, of the 20 percent of the population who move to a different house, about 12 percent moved within the same county, 3 percent moved to a different county in the same State, and 3 percent moved between States.

Senator **Mondale**. This surprises me a little bit. I assumed with the rapid acceleration of industrialization and business and commerce in this country of an interstate nature we would see a much higher proportion of personnel moving. With the Armed Forces and their personnel policies, I had assumed that we would see an acceleration in geographical movement of families, but that has not been the case?

Mr. BARABBA. It has not been the case in the civilian population. Our current survey does not cover the movement of persons in military barracks.

Senator MONDALE. That is interesting.

Mr. BARABBA. Moreover, the percent of the total population born in the State where they currently live has remained relatively stable since 1850. For the country as a whole this percentage has fluctuated between a low of 64 in 1860 to a high of 70 in 1940. Since 1940 there has been a slight but steady decrease of about 2 percent per decade to 65 percent in 1970.

The exodus of rural population to the cities has been largely a movement from farms to nonfarm areas over the last several decades. Farm families constituted one-third of all families in 1900, one-fifth in 1940, and only one-twentieth in 1970. However, there has been no absolute change of significance between 1940 and 1970 in the number of rural families—including the rural nonfarm as well as the rural farm families.

Senator MONDALE. Do you have figures that break that down? I think there has been a dramatic reduction in farm families, but that has probably been absorbed in rural nonfarm. If you lump them together, I think you are correct. Actually what we thought of as farm families I think has dropped dramatically in the last 30 years, but can you provide those for me?

Mr. BARABBA. Yes, sir.

Mr. GLICK. We can provide those figures.

Mr. BARABBA. In 1940 there were 14 million rural families and in 1970 there were also 14 million rural families. Thus, all of the increase in families between 1940 and 1970 has occurred in urban areas.

An important recent trend that has influenced the pattern of American family life has been an increasing number of multiple-worker families. In 1962, there were 16.1 million husband-wife families in which both the head and at least one other family member were in the labor force. This constituted 45 percent of all husband-wife families in which the family head was working. By 1972, this proportion had increased to 55 percent and the number had grown to 21.3 million families.

The primary contribution to this increase in multiple-worker families has been the growth in labor force participation among married women. For example, in 1950, less than one-fourth of the wives in United States were in the labor force; and for those women with children under 6 years of age, the labor force rate was only about 12 percent.

However, in 1972, over 40 percent of all wives were in the labor force; and even among those with children under 6 years old, 30 percent participated in the labor force.

Senator MONDALE. Do you have figures that show what percentage or numbers are involved in full-time work?

Mr. GLICK. Yes, sir.

Senator MONDALE. You do have that, and broken down by under 6 years old, too. So we know how many mothers are working full time?

Mr. GLICK. Yes, sir. We shall send the figures to you.

Mr. Barabba. One of the problems we run into is the size of the sample, we may be cutting it a little thin in having confidence in the statistics we present, but we can provide you with the numbers——

Senator Mondale. You have estimates of statistical reliability, so you know how reliable the sample is. But there has been a substantial increase in the number of full-time working mothers with preschool children, has there not?

Mr. Glick. That is correct.

Senator Mondale. But you do not have those figures with you?

Mr. Barabba. We will get those to you.

[The information subsequently supplied follows:]

FARM FAMILIES

Population in households by relationship to head, for the United States, urban and rural: 1970, 1960, 1950, and 1940

(Numbers in thousands)

Area and relationship	1970	1960	1950	1940
United States, in households	197,427	174,424	144,552	128,427
Head of household	63,638	53,024	42,251	34,949
Wife of head	43,869	39,475	33,276	26,571
Child of head	78,248	69,246	53,471	51,305
Other relative of head	8,722	10,011	11,507	10,107
Nonrelative of head	2,950	2,668	4,046	5,496
Urban	144,648	122,000	92,110	72,394
Head of household	47,672	38,320	28,184	20,648
Wife of head	31,696	27,628	21,535	15,225
Child of head	56,435	46,879	31,679	26,835
Other relative of head	6,364	7,003	7,545	5,846
Nonrelative of head	2,481	2,169	3,168	3,839
Rural nonfarm	44,494	38,979	29,519	26,014
Head of household	13,540	11,138	8,367	7,226
Wife of head	10,184	8,826	6,879	5,556
Child of head	18,398	16,548	11,708	10,612
Other relative of head	1,968	2,103	2,041	1,787
Nonrelative of head	404	364	524	832
Rural farm	8,284	13,445	22,923	30,020
Head of household	2,425	3,565	5,701	7,074
Wife of head	1,989	3,021	4,862	5,789
Child of head	3,415	5,819	10,085	13,858
Other relative of head	390	904	1,921	2,473
Nonrelative of head	65	135	355	825

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, United States Summary: 1970, Vol. I, table 204; 1960, Vol. I, table 181; 1950, Vol. II, table 107; and 1940, Vol. IV, table 10.

WORKING MOTHERS

Table 30 "Working Mothers"—Women With Own Children Under 18 Years Old Below the Low-Income Level in 1971 by Work Experience and Race

(Numbers in thousands. Mothers as of March 1972)

Work experience of mother and presence of own children under 18 years	All races			White			Negro		
	Total	Below low-income level		Total	Below low-income level		Total	Below low-income level	
		Number	Percent of Total		Number	Percent of Total		Number	Percent of Total
ALL WOMEN WITH OWN CHILDREN									
Total									
Total	29,948	3,421	11.4	26,259	2,274	8.7	3,323	1,095	32.9
Worked	15,558	1,343	8.6	13,341	854	6.4	2,026	473	23.3
50 to 52 weeks	7,385	372	5.0	6,279	228	3.6	1,013	143	14.1
Full time	5,675	207	3.6	4,738	113	2.4	860	91	10.6
27 to 49 weeks	5,579	506	9.1	4,754	302	6.4	745	197	26.4
1 to 26 weeks	2,594	465	17.9	2,308	326	14.1	268	132	49.3
Did not work	14,389	2,079	14.4	12,917	1,420	11.0	1,298	622	47.9
Main reason for not working:									
Keeping house	13,485	1,777	13.2	12,289	1,270	10.3	1,039	479	46.1
Other	904	302	33.4	628	150	23.9	259	143	55.2
Women With All Children Under 6 Years									
Total	7,404	885	12.0	6,466	620	9.6	818	239	29.2
Worked	3,553	318	9.0	3,002	221	7.4	486	88	18.1
50 to 52 weeks	1,045	38	3.6	833	28	3.4	187	10	5.3
Full time	841	17	2.0	645	10	1.6	173	7	4.0
27 to 49 weeks	1,564	127	8.1	1,321	77	5.8	213	48	22.5
1 to 26 weeks	944	153	16.2	848	117	13.8	86	29	33.7
Did not work	3,850	567	14.7	3,464	399	11.5	333	151	45.3
Main reason for not working:									
Keeping house	3,634	498	13.7	3,322	365	11.0	267	122	45.7
Other	216	69	31.9	142	34	23.9	66	29	(B)
Women With Some Children Under 6 Years, Some 6 to 17 Years									
Total	6,764	1,144	16.9	5,821	757	13.0	866	378	43.6
Worked	2,595	429	16.5	2,117	264	12.5	447	165	36.9
50 to 52 weeks	1,021	107	10.5	819	62	7.6	184	45	24.5
Full time	711	60	8.4	540	28	5.2	154	32	20.8
27 to 49 weeks	1,031	177	17.2	830	109	13.1	190	68	35.8
1 to 26 weeks	542	145	26.8	468	93	19.9	74	52	(B)
Did not work	4,169	715	17.2	3,705	493	13.3	419	213	50.8
Main reason for not working:									
Keeping house	4,043	651	16.1	3,624	464	12.8	375	181	48.3
Other	126	64	50.8	81	29	35.8	44	32	(B)
Women With All Children 6 to 17 Years									
Total	15,780	1,393	8.8	13,972	897	6.4	1,639	477	29.1
Worked	9,410	596	6.3	8,223	369	4.5	1,093	219	20.0
50 to 52 weeks	5,319	228	4.3	4,627	137	3.0	643	88	13.7
Full time	4,124	130	3.2	3,553	75	2.1	532	52	9.8
27 to 49 weeks	2,984	201	6.7	2,603	116	4.5	343	80	23.3
1 to 26 weeks	1,108	167	15.1	992	116	11.7	108	51	47.2
Did not work	6,370	797	12.5	5,749	529	9.2	546	258	47.3
Main reason for not working:									
Keeping house	5,808	627	10.8	5,343	441	8.3	397	176	44.3
Other	562	170	30.2	406	88	21.7	149	82	55.0
WIVES OF FAMILY AND SUBFAMILY HEADS WITH OWN CHILDREN									
Total									
Total	25,807	1,711	6.6	23,475	1,314	5.6	2,016	373	18.5
Worked	12,947	635	4.9	11,519	458	4.0	1,267	176	13.9
50 to 52 weeks	5,927	181	3.1	5,227	133	2.5	618	47	7.6
Full time	4,388	75	1.7	3,799	50	1.3	524	25	4.8
27 to 49 weeks	4,791	234	4.9	4,229	156	3.7	491	77	15.7
1 to 26 weeks	2,229	220	9.9	2,063	169	8.2	158	51	32.3
Did not work	12,860	1,076	8.4	11,956	856	7.2	749	198	26.4
Main reason for not working:									
Keeping house	12,303	995	8.1	11,511	808	7.0	648	168	25.9
Other	557	81	14.5	445	48	10.8	101	30	29.7

See footnotes at end of table.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Popula-Reports, Series P-60, No. 86, "Characteristics of the Low-Income Population: 1971."

Table 30. "Working Mothers"—Women With Own Children Under 18 Years Old Below the Low-Income Level in 1971 by Work Experience and Race—Continued

(Numbers in thousands. Mothers as of March 1972)

Work experience of mother and presence of own children under 18 years	All races			White			Negro		
	Total	Below low-income level		Total	Below low-income level		Total	Below low-income level	
		Number	Percent of Total		Number	Percent of Total		Number	Percent of Total
Women With All Children Under 6 Years									
Total	6,485	462	7.1	5,893	371	6.3	497	81	16.3
Worked	3,036	151	5.0	2,673	114	4.3	311	37	11.9
50 to 52 weeks	842	16	1.9	704	11	1.6	117	5	4.3
Full time	672	6	0.9	545	3	0.6	109	3	2.8
27 to 49 weeks	1,365	59	4.3	1,203	40	3.3	134	19	14.2
1 to 26 weeks	830	75	9.0	767	62	8.1	60	13	(B)
Did not work	3,449	311	9.0	3,220	258	8.0	186	44	23.7
Main reason for not working:									
Keeping house	3,312	291	8.8	3,120	249	8.0	154	34	22.1
Other	137	20	14.6	100	9	9.0	32	10	(B)
Women With Some Children Under 6 Years, Some 6 to 17 Years									
Total	5,958	609	10.2	5,338	454	8.5	546	146	26.7
Worked	2,198	231	10.5	1,867	155	8.3	301	76	25.2
50 to 52 weeks	873	66	7.6	725	47	6.5	128	18	14.1
Full time	574	28	4.9	451	17	3.8	106	11	10.4
27 to 49 weeks	876	93	10.6	732	59	8.1	133	34	25.6
1 to 26 weeks	449	73	16.3	409	49	12.0	40	24	(B)
Did not work	3,759	377	10.0	3,471	299	8.6	245	70	28.6
Main reason for not working:									
Keeping house	3,682	354	9.6	3,406	283	8.3	234	64	27.4
Other	77	23	29.9	65	16	(B)	11	6	(B)
Women With All Children 6 to 17 Years									
Total	13,364	640	4.8	12,245	488	4.0	973	146	15.0
Worked	7,713	253	3.3	6,979	189	2.7	655	62	9.5
50 to 52 weeks	4,213	99	2.3	3,798	74	1.9	373	24	6.4
Full time	3,143	42	1.3	2,803	31	1.1	309	11	3.6
27 to 49 weeks	2,550	83	3.3	2,293	57	2.5	224	24	10.7
1 to 26 weeks	950	72	7.6	887	58	6.5	58	13	(B)
Did not work	5,651	388	6.9	5,266	299	5.7	318	84	26.4
Main reason for not working:									
Keeping house	5,309	350	6.6	4,985	276	5.5	261	69	26.4
Other	342	38	11.1	281	23	8.2	57	15	(B)
FEMALE FAMILY AND SUBFAMILY HEADS WITH OWN CHILDREN									
Total									
Total	4,140	1,711	41.3	2,784	961	34.5	1,309	721	55.1
Worked	2,611	707	27.1	1,823	396	21.7	759	297	39.1
50 to 52 weeks	1,458	191	13.1	1,051	93	8.8	395	96	24.3
Full time	1,287	132	10.3	940	63	6.7	335	66	19.7
27 to 49 weeks	788	271	34.4	526	146	27.8	254	120	47.2
1 to 26 weeks	365	245	67.1	246	157	63.8	110	81	73.6
Did not work	1,530	1,003	65.6	961	564	58.7	549	424	77.2
Main reason for not working:									
Keeping house	1,182	783	66.2	778	462	59.4	391	311	79.5
Other	348	220	63.2	183	102	55.7	158	113	71.5
Women With All Children Under 6 Years									
Total	918	423	46.1	573	249	43.5	321	158	49.2
Worked	517	167	32.3	329	108	32.8	175	51	29.1
50 to 52 weeks	204	22	10.8	129	16	12.4	70	5	(B)
Full time	169	11	6.5	100	7	7.0	64	4	(B)
27 to 49 weeks	199	68	34.2	118	37	31.4	79	29	36.7
1 to 26 weeks	114	78	68.4	81	55	67.9	26	16	(B)
Did not work	401	256	63.8	244	141	57.8	146	107	73.3
Main reason for not working:									
Keeping house	322	208	64.6	202	116	57.4	113	88	77.9
Other	79	48	60.8	42	25	(B)	33	19	(B)

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 30. "Working Mothers"—Women With Own Children Under 18 Years Old Below the Low-Income Level in 1971 by Work Experience and Race—Continued

(Numbers in thousands. Mothers as of March 1972)

Work experience of mother and presence of own children under 18 years	All races			White			Negro		
	Total	Below low-income level		Total	Below low-income level		Total	Below low-income level	
		Number	Percent of Total		Number	Percent of Total		Number	Percent of Total
Women With Some Children Under 6 Years, Some 6 to 17 Years									
Total	806	535	66.4	484	303	62.6	320	233	72.8
Worked	397	198	49.9	250	109	43.6	146	89	61.0
50 to 52 weeks	149	41	27.5	93	14	15.1	56	27	(B)
Full time	137	32	23.4	89	11	12.4	46	21	(B)
27 to 49 weeks	155	85	54.8	97	50	51.5	56	35	(B)
1 to 26 weeks	93	72	77.4	59	44	(B)	34	27	(B)
Did not work	409	338	82.6	234	194	82.9	174	144	82.8
Main reason for not working:									
Keeping house	361	297	82.3	218	181	83.0	142	117	82.4
Other	48	41	(B)	16	13	(B)	32	27	(B)
Women With All Children 6 to 17 Years									
Total	2,416	752	31.[illegible]	[illegible]27	409	23.7	667	331	49.6
Worked	1,697	343	20.2	1,244	179	14.4	438	158	36.1
50 to 52 weeks	1,106	129	11.7	829	62	7.5	269	64	23.8
Full time	981	88	9.0	750	44	5.9	223	41	18.4
27 to 49 weeks	434	118	27.2	310	59	19.0	118	56	47.5
1 to 26 weeks	157	96	61.1	105	58	55.2	50	38	(B)
Did not work	719	410	57.0	483	230	47.6	228	174	76.3
Main reason for not working									
Keeping house	499	277	55.5	358	165	46.1	136	107	78.7
Other	220	133	60.5	125	65	52.0	92	67	72.8

B Base less than 75,000.

Table 31. Children by Work Experience of Mother—Own Children Under 18 Years Old Below the Low-Income Level in 1971 by Age, Race, and Work Experience of Mother

(Numbers in thousands. Own children as of March 1972)

Work experience of mother and age of own children	All races			White			Negro		
	Total	Below low-income level		Total	Below low-income level		Total	Below low-income level	
		Number	Percent of Total		Number	Percent of Total		Number	Percent of Total
ALL OWN CHILDREN									
Total									
Total	66,048	9,484	14.4	56,759	6,031	10.6	8,295	3,283	39.6
Mother worked	32,089	3,623	11.3	26,810	2,119	7.9	4,774	1,457	30.5
50 to 52 weeks	14,722	1,034	7.0	12,280	615	5.0	2,212	406	18.4
Full time	10,880	543	5.0	8,860	281	3.2	1,837	250	13.6
27 to 49 weeks	11,776	1,416	12.0	9,687	755	7.8	1,851	635	34.3
1 to 26 weeks	5,591	1,173	21.0	4,844	749	15.5	710	416	58.6
Mother did not work	33,959	5,861	17.3	29,949	3,912	13.1	3,522	1,826	51.8
Main reason for not working:									
Keeping house	32,113	5,154	16.0	28,712	3,583	12.5	2,961	1,478	49.9
Other	1,846	707	38.3	1,237	329	26.6	561	348	62.0
Children Under 6 Years									
Total	19,958	3,199	16.0	17,085	2,102	12.3	2,513	1,034	41.1
Mother worked	8,125	1,113	13.7	6,661	692	10.4	1,294	408	31.5
50 to 52 weeks	2,548	196	7.7	2,025	123	6.1	446	73	16.4
Full time	1,852	97	5.2	1,394	47	3.4	390	50	12.8
27 to 49 weeks	3,474	472	13.6	2,820	274	9.7	577	193	33.4
1 to 26 weeks	2,103	447	21.3	1,816	295	16.2	271	142	52.4
Mother did not work	11,833	2,086	17.6	10,424	1,410	13.5	1,218	626	51.4
Main reason for not working:									
Keeping house	11,361	1,886	16.6	10,119	1,311	13.0	1,070	539	50.4
Other	472	200	42.4	305	99	32.5	148	87	58.8
Children 6 to 14 Years									
Total	34,854	5,000	14.3	29,970	3,167	10.6	4,400	1,748	39.7
Mother worked	17,553	1,984	11.3	14,688	1,152	7.8	2,609	803	30.8
50 to 52 weeks	8,510	615	7.2	7,105	374	5.3	1,293	230	17.8
Full time	6,258	328	5.2	5,115	175	3.4	1,068	142	13.3
27 to 49 weeks	6,306	783	12.4	5,199	404	7.8	980	360	36.7
1 to 26 weeks	2,736	586	21.4	2,383	374	15.7	336	212	63.1
Mother did not work	17,301	3,016	17.4	15,283	2,015	13.2	1,790	945	52.8
Main reason for not working:									
Keeping house	16,319	2,628	16.1	14,636	1,844	12.6	1,470	737	50.1
Other	982	388	39.5	647	171	26.4	320	208	65.0
Children 15 to 17 Years									
Total	11,235	1,285	11.4	9,704	762	7.9	1,383	501	36.2
Mother worked	6,411	525	8.2	5,462	274	5.0	870	246	28.3
50 to 52 weeks	3,664	223	6.1	3,150	117	3.7	473	103	21.8
Full time	2,760	119	4.3	2,351	59	2.5	379	57	15.0
27 to 49 weeks	1,995	161	8.1	1,667	78	4.7	294	82	27.9
1 to 26 weeks	752	141	18.8	645	80	12.4	104	61	58.7
Mother did not work	4,824	759	15.7	4,242	487	11.5	513	255	49.7
Main reason for not working:									
Keeping house	4,434	641	14.5	3,956	428	10.8	421	202	48.0
Other	390	118	30.3	286	59	20.6	92	53	57.6
OWN CHILDREN IN HUSBAND-WIFE FAMILIES AND SUBFAMILIES									
Total									
Total	57,200	5,030	8.8	51,229	3,671	7.2	5,104	1,256	24.6
Mother worked	26,963	1,855	6.9	23,464	1,218	5.2	3,080	631	20.5
50 to 52 weeks	12,005	531	4.4	10,423	396	3.8	1,384	134	9.7
Full time	8,520	198	2.3	7,202	130	1.8	1,168	67	5.7
27 to 49 weeks	10,185	743	7.3	8,719	424	4.9	1,266	313	24.7
1 to 26 weeks	4,773	582	12.2	4,322	398	9.2	430	183	42.6
Mother did not work	30,236	3,175	10.5	27,766	2,453	8.8	2,024	626	30.9
Main reason for not working:									
Keeping house	29,103	2,965	10.2	26,880	2,341	8.7	1,817	550	30.3
Other	1,133	210	18.5	886	112	12.6	207	76	36.7

See footnotes at end of table.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 86, "Characteristics of the Low-Income Population: 1971."

Table 31. Children by Work Experience of Mother—Own Children Under 18 Years Old Below the Low-Income Level in 1971 by Age Race and Work Experience of Mother—Continued

(Numbers in thousands. Own children as of March 1972)

Work experience of mother and age of own children	All races			White			Negro		
	Total	Below low-income level		Total	Below low-income level		Total	Below low-income level	
		Number	Percent of Total		Number	Percent of Total		Number	Percent of Total
OWN CHILDREN IN HUSBAND-WIFE FAMILIES AND SUBFAMILIES--Continued									
Children Under 6 Years									
Total	17,514	1,730	9.9	15,657	1,294	8.3	1,541	397	25.8
Mother worked	6,913	577	8.3	5,926	391	6.6	848	186	21.9
50 to 52 weeks	2,126	111	5.2	1,766	88	5.0	291	23	7.9
Full time	1,497	41	2.7	1,180	26	2.2	258	15	5.8
27 to 49 weeks	2,981	240	8.1	2,534	142	5.6	384	98	25.5
1 to 26 weeks	1,806	227	12.6	1,625	161	9.9	173	66	38.2
Mother did not work	10,601	1,153	10.9	9,731	904	9.3	694	211	30.4
Main reason for not working:									
Keeping house	10,302	1,079	10.5	9,510	866	9.1	630	183	29.0
Other	299	74	24.7	221	38	17.2	64	28	43.8
Children 6 to 14 Years									
Total	30,126	2,626	8.7	26,990	1,906	7.1	2,711	668	24.6
Mother worked	14,737	1,030	7.0	12,838	667	5.2	1,686	357	21.2
50 to 52 weeks	6,906	307	4.4	6,009	234	3.9	804	73	9.1
Full time	4,845	109	2.2	4,113	76	1.8	665	33	5.0
27 to 49 weeks	5,487	422	7.7	4,699	230	4.9	681	185	27.2
1 to 26 weeks	2,344	301	12.8	2,130	203	9.5	201	98	48.8
Mother did not work	15,389	1,596	10.4	14,152	1,239	8.8	1,024	311	30.4
Main reason for not working:									
Keeping house	14,794	1,498	10.1	13,683	1,186	8.7	914	275	30.1
Other	595	98	16.5	469	53	11.3	110	36	32.7
Children 15 to 17 Years									
Total	9,559	674	7.1	8,582	471	5.5	851	192	22.6
Mother worked	5,313	248	4.7	4,700	160	3.4	545	87	16.0
50 to 52 weeks	2,974	113	3.8	2,648	75	2.8	290	38	13.1
Full time	2,178	48	2.2	1,908	29	1.5	246	19	7.7
27 to 49 weeks	1,717	82	4.8	1,486	51	3.4	200	31	15.5
1 to 26 weeks	623	53	8.5	566	34	6.0	55	19	34.5
Mother did not work	4,246	426	10.0	3,882	311	8.0	306	104	34.0
Main reason for not working:									
Keeping house	4,007	387	9.7	3,687	290	7.9	273	92	33.7
Other	239	39	16.3	195	21	10.8	33	12	36.4
OWN CHILDREN IN FAMILIES AND SUBFAMILIES WITH A FEMALE HEAD									
Total									
Total	8,848	4,453	50.3	5,530	2,360	42.7	3,192	2,026	63.5
Mother worked	5,125	1,768	34.5	3,347	900	26.9	1,694	827	48.8
50 to 52 weeks	2,717	503	18.5	1,857	218	11.7	828	272	32.9
Full time	2,360	346	14.7	1,659	151	9.1	669	182	27.2
27 to 49 weeks	1,590	673	42.3	968	332	34.3	586	322	54.9
1 to 26 weeks	818	591	72.2	522	350	67.0	281	232	82.6
Mother did not work	3,723	2,686	72.1	2,183	1,459	66.8	1,498	1,200	80.1
Main reason for not working:									
Keeping house	3,010	2,190	72.8	1,832	1,242	67.8	1,144	927	81.0
Other	713	496	69.6	351	217	61.8	354	273	77.1
Children Under 6 Years									
Total	2,445	1,469	60.1	1,428	808	56.6	971	637	65.6
Mother worked	1,212	536	44.2	735	301	41.0	447	222	49.7
50 to 52 weeks	422	85	20.1	259	36	13.9	155	50	32.3
Full time	355	56	15.8	214	21	9.8	133	34	25.6
27 to 49 weeks	493	232	47.1	287	132	46.0	193	96	49.7
1 to 26 weeks	297	218	73.4	190	134	70.5	98	76	77.6
Mother did not work	1,233	932	75.6	693	507	73.2	525	415	79.0
Main reason for not working:									
Keeping house	1,058	806	76.2	610	445	73.0	440	356	80.9
Other	175	126	72.0	83	62	74.7	85	59	69.4

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 31. Children by Work Experience of Mother—Own Children Under 18 Years Old Below the Low-Income Level in 1971 by Age, Race, and Work Experience of Mother—Continued

(Numbers in thousands. Own children as of March 1972)

Work experience of mother and age of own children	All races			White			Negro		
	Total	Below low-income level		Total	Below low-income level		Total	Below low-income level	
		Number	Percent of Total		Number	Percent of Total		Number	Percent of Total
OWN CHILDREN IN FAMILIES AND SUBFAMILIES WITH A FEMALE HEAD—Continued									
Children 6 to 14 Years									
Total	4,728	2,374	50.2	2,980	1,261	42.3	1,689	1,080	63.9
Mother worked	2,816	954	33.9	1,850	485	26.2	923	446	48.3
50 to 52 weeks	1,604	308	19.2	1,097	141	12.9	490	157	32.0
Full time	1,423	219	15.4	1,002	99	9.9	403	109	27.0
27 to 49 weeks	819	361	44.1	500	174	34.8	299	175	58.5
1 to 26 weeks	392	284	72.4	253	171	67.6	134	114	85.1
Mother did not work	1,912	1,420	74.3	1,130	776	68.7	766	634	82.8
Main reason for not working									
Keeping house	1,525	1,129	74.0	954	658	69.0	556	462	83.1
Other	387	291	75.2	176	118	67.0	210	172	81.9
Children 15 to 17 Years									
Total	1,676	611	36.5	1,122	291	25.9	532	309	58.1
Mother worked	1,098	278	25.3	762	114	15.0	325	159	48.9
50 to 52 weeks	691	110	15.9	502	42	8.4	183	65	35.5
Full time	582	71	12.2	443	30	6.8	133	38	28.6
27 to 49 weeks	278	80	28.8	182	26	14.3	93	51	54.8
1 to 26 weeks	129	88	68.2	79	46	58.2	48	42	(B)
Mother did not work	578	333	57.6	360	177	49.2	207	150	72.5
Main reason for not working									
Keeping house	427	254	59.5	269	139	51.7	148	110	74.3
Other	151	79	52.3	91	38	41.8	59	40	(B)

B Base less than 75,000

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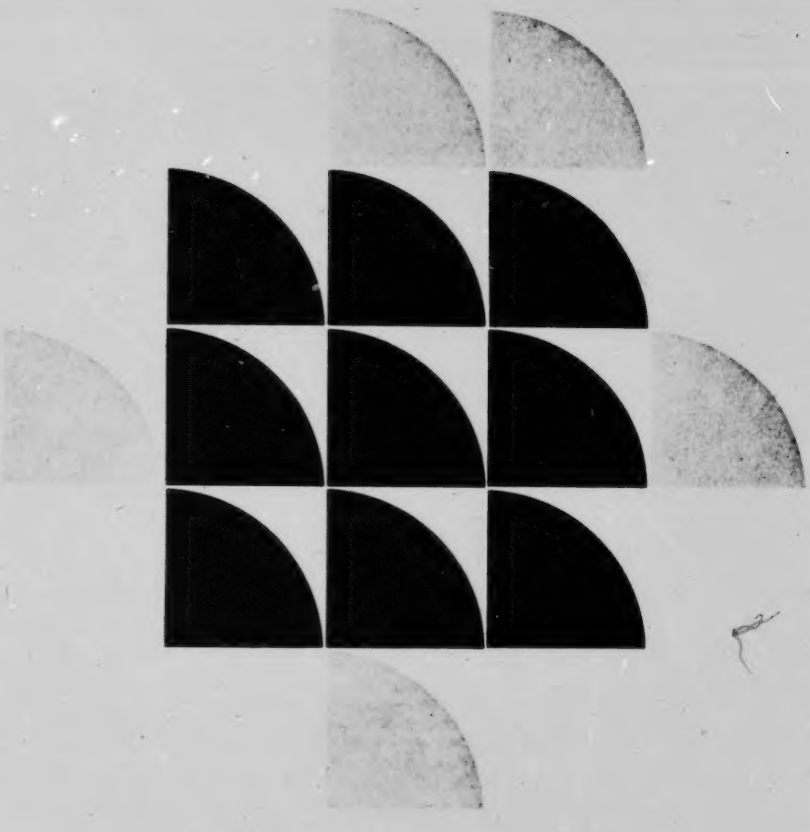
Children of Working Mothers, March 197~~3~~2

Special Labor Force Report 154

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Bureau of Labor Statistics
1973



Following is a list of reprints of Special Labor Force Reports which have been published in the *Monthly Labor Review* since January 1969. Copies may be obtained while the supply lasts upon request to the Bureau of Labor Statistics or to any of its regional offices.

Number	
104	Men in Poverty Neighborhoods: A Status Report
105	Effect of the Census Undercount on Labor Force Estimates
106	Job Losers, Leavers, and Entrants
107	Work Experience of the Population in 1967
108	Employment of High School Graduates and Dropouts, October 1968
109	Employment in the Urban Poverty Neighborhoods
110	Persons Not in the Labor Force
111	Employment Status of School Age Youth
112	Job Tenure of Workers, January 1968
113	Overtime Hours and Premium Pay, May 1967
114	Unemployment by Region and in Largest States
115	Work Experience of the Population in 1968
116	Employment and Unemployment Developments in 1969
117	Status of Men Missed in the Census
118	The Long-Duration Unemployed
119	The U.S. Labor Force: Projections to 1985
120	Marital and Family Characteristics of the U.S. Labor Force
121	Employment of High School Graduates and Dropouts
122	Education of Adult Workers: Projections to 1985
123	Moonlighters: Their Motivations and Characteristics
124	Employment of School-Age Youth
125	Educational Attainment of Workers, March 1969, 1970
126	Vietnam War Veterans–Transition to Civilian Life
127	Work Experience of the Population in 1969
128	Students and Summer Jobs, October 1969
129	Employment and Unemployment in 1970
130	Marital and Family Characteristics of Workers, March 1970
131	Employment of High School Graduates and Dropouts
132	Young Workers and Their Earnings
133	The Labor Market 'Twist', 1964-69
134	Children of Women in the Labor Force
135	Employment of School-Age Youth
136	Recent Trends in Overtime Hours and Premium Pay
137	Employment Situation of Vietnam Era Veterans, 1971
138	Occupational Characteristics of Urban Workers
139	Multiple Jobholding in 1970 and 1971
140	Educational Attainment of Workers, March 1971
141	Work Experience of the Population in 1970
142	Employment and Unemployment in 1971
143	Usual Weekly Earnings of American Workers, 1971
144	Marital and Family Characteristics of the Labor Force
145	Employment of High School Graduates and Dropouts
146	An Analysis of Unemployment by Household Relationship
147	Employment of School-Age Youth
148	Educational Attainment of Workers, March 1972
149	The Employment Situation of Vietnam Era Veterans
150	Jobseeking Methods Used by Unemployed Workers
151	Employment of Recent College Graduates
152	Changes in the Employment Situation in 1972
153	Labor Force Activity of Married Women

Children of working mothers

Special Labor Force Report shows mothers of almost 26 million children under age 18 were in the labor force in March 1972

ANNE M. YOUNG

SCHOOL AND PRESCHOOL age children whose mothers are part of our Nation's work force continue to be the object of public attention, especially as they are affected by such circumstances as the unemployment or low earnings of one or both parents, or the lack of adequate care during their working mother's absence. This article provides information on the number of children by the labor force activity of their parents, their race, type and size of families, and family income. The data, which were obtained from the annual survey of the marital and family characteristics of workers,[1] are essential for persons concerned with policy planning and legislative proposals regarding the employment of mothers, child care facilities, and welfare administration.

The number of children under age 18 in the population declined somewhat from 1970 to 1972, while the number of children with working mothers edged upward. (See table 1.) In March 1972, there were 65.3 million children under 18 years of age. Almost 26 million had mothers who were working or looking for work and 5.6 million of these children were preschoolers under age 6. Close to 800,000 of these preschoolers were in families headed by a woman. It is clear that the presence of children, including very young children, is no longer considered a bar to employment by many women.

Although most children were living with both parents in March 1972, the number in two-parent families (56.6 million) was 1.8 million lower than in 1970 while the number in families headed by women (7.9 million) was 1.2 million higher. The decrease in number of children in husband-wife families is related largely to the decline in births in recent years, and to the increase in families recently broken by divorce and separation. The birth rate has reached a new low—falling to 15.5 per thousand population for the first 6 months of 1972[2] —and the increase in divorces, which has accelerated since 1967, continued in 1971.[3]

Women who head families are more likely to have to work than mothers in husband-wife families. Among families headed by women, 51 percent of all children under 18 years of age had a mother in the labor force in March 1972, compared to 38 percent of all children in husband-wife families. In both types of families, as would be expected, children under age 6 were less likely than school age children to have a mother in the labor force. (See table 2.)

Race

Historically, a much higher proportion of Negro than white children are in families in which the mother goes out to work. In husband-wife families,

Table 1. Children under 18 years old, by type of family and labor force status of mother, 1970–72

[Numbers in thousands]

Type of family and labor force status of mother	March 1970[1]	March 1971[1] (preliminary)	March 1972
Total children[2]	65,755	65,579	65,255
Mother in labor force	25,544	25,451	25,762
Mother not in labor force	39,550	39,477	38,787
Husband-wife family	58,399	57,296	56,625
Mother in labor force	21,982	21,454	21,722
Mother not in labor force	36,417	35,842	34,903
Female family head[3]	6,695	7,632	7,924
Mother in labor force	3,562	3,997	4,040
Mother not in labor force	3,133	3,635	3,884
Other male family head[3]	661	651	706

[1] Figures for March 1970 and 1971 were revised by using 1970 Census based population controls comparable with those used for the March 1972 data. Previously published figures for 1970 and 1971 were based on population controls from the 1960 Census.

[2] Children are defined as "own" children of the family head and include sons and daughters, step children, and adopted children. Excluded are other related children (e.g., nieces, nephews, cousins) and unrelated children.

[3] Widowed, divorced, separated, and single family heads.

NOTE: Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

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Bureau of Labor Statistics

Table 2. Children under 18 years old, by age group, type of family, labor force status of mother, and race, March 1972

Type of family, labor force status of mother, and race	Number of children (thousands)		
	Under 18 years	Under 6 years	6 to 17 years
Total children [1]	65,255	19,235	46,020
Mother in labor force	25,762	5,607	20,155
Husband-wife family	56,625	17,173	39,452
Mother in labor force	21,722	4,838	16,884
Mother not in labor force	34,903	12,335	22,568
Female family heads [2]	7,924	1,977	5,947
Mother in labor force	4,040	769	3,271
Mother not in labor force	3,884	1,208	2,676
Other male family head [2]	706	85	621
White children, total	56,303	16,603	39,700
Mother in labor force	21,539	4,495	17,044
Husband-wife family	50,796	15,409	35,387
Mother in labor force	18,799	4,031	14,768
Mother not in labor force	31,997	11,378	20,619
Female family head [2]	4,967	1,130	3,837
Mother in labor force	2,740	464	2,276
Mother not in labor force	2,227	666	1,561
Other male family head [2]	540	64	476
Negro children, total	8,083	2,345	5,748
Mother in labor force	3,855	999	2,856
Husband-wife family	5,078	1,504	3,574
Mother in labor forr	2,609	707	1,902
Mother not in labor force	2,469	797	1,672
Female family head [2]	2,855	821	2,034
Mother in labor force	1,246	292	954
Mother not in labor force	1,609	529	1,080
Other male family head [2]	160	20	140

[1] "Own" children includes sons and daughters, step-children, and adopted children.

[2] Widowed, divorced, separated, and single family heads.

NOTE: Figures for 1972 are not strictly comparable with published data for earlier years because of the introduction of 1970 Census data into the estimation procedures.

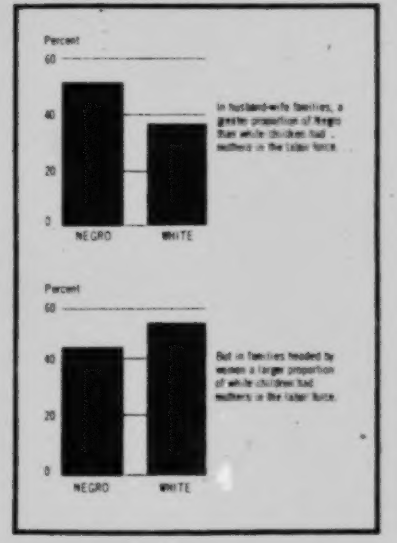
51 percent of Negro children under age 18, compared to 37 percent of white children, had a mother in the labor force in March 1972. (See chart.) The difference reflects, in part, the greater economic pressure on many Negro wives to supplement the often low earnings of their husbands. Moreover, among Negro husband–wife families, the proportion of children with mothers in the labor force was higher for children whose fathers were in the labor force than for those whose fathers were not. However, among white husband–wife families, the proportion of children whose mother was in the labor force was the same whether the father was in or out of the labor force.

Among families headed by women, on the other hand, 55 percent of the white children compared to 44 percent of the Negro children had working mothers. This difference reflects, in part, the fact that relatively more of the Negro than white families had preschool age children, which restricts the possibility of work outside the home. In addition, the Negro women had less education and were less able to compete for jobs. Only a third of Negro women who head families had at least a high school education, compared with slightly more than half of the white women who were family heads in March 1971.[6] With the increasing "credentialism" in recent years, the lack of a high school diploma or other certified training was at least a partial barrier to employment for these women.

Family income

It is especially striking to find that 1 out of every 6 children under age 18 was in a family where the father was absent (7.9 million), unemployed (1.8 million), or out of the labor force (1.9 million). (See table 3.) Fourteen percent of all white children

Chart 1. Proportion of children with mothers in the labor force by family type and race, March 1972



were living in these circumstances, compared with 43 percent of all Negro children. In many cases, the burden of adequate support has fallen on the mother. For example, in families headed by women, 51 percent of the children had mothers in the labor force, compared with 38 percent of the children whose fathers were present and employed.

The labor force participation of mothers has brought significant economic benefits to their families. For children in husband–wife families, median family income was $12,750 in 1971 if the mother was in the labor force, compared to $11,060 if she was not. When the mother worked, median family income was $12,990 if the father was employed, $9,290 when he was unemployed, and $8,010 when he was not in the labor force. With the mother out of the labor force, comparable medians were much lower, especially in families with neither parent in the labor force ($4,920).

The labor force status of the mother in families headed by women made a financial difference to her family: median income was $5,795 if she was employed, $3,230 if she was not in the labor force. Whether white or Negro, income in families that women head is much lower than income among families headed by men. Of 5 million white children in fatherless families in March 1972, 30 percent were in families whose 1971 income was less than $3,000, and 24 percent were in the next broad income bracket, $3,000 to $4,999. Comparable proportions for white children in husband–wife families were 2 and 5 percent. Of the 2.9 million Negro children in fatherless families, 39 percent were supported on less than $3,000 a year and 33 percent were in the next broad income group. Comparable proportions for Negro children in husband–wife families were 6 and 13 percent.

Information on labor force status also helps to explain the very low average family income of children in families headed by mothers. Over half of these children had mothers who were not earners in March 1972—49 percent were not in the labor force and 5 percent were unemployed. Obviously, many children in families headed by women were in families dependent on marginal income from outside sources, often minimum welfare allowances.

Table 3. Children under 18 years old, by selected characteristics, March 1972

[Numbers in thousands]

Type of family and labor force status of head	All children[1]				White				Negro			
	Under 18 years		Under 6 years		Under 18 years		Under 6 years		Under 18 years		Under 6 years	
	Number	Median family income in 1971	Number	Median family income in 1971	Number	Median family income in 1971	Number	Median family income in 1971	Number	Median family income in 1971	Number	Median family income in 1971
Total children	65,255	$10,845	19,235	$9,475	56,303	$11,445	16,600	$9,908	8,093	$6,508	2,345	$5,624
Mother in labor force	25,762	11,721	5,607	9,843	21,539	12,271	4,495	10,415	3,856	8,160	999	7,042
Husband-wife families	56,625	11,749	17,173	10,117	50,796	12,051	15,409	10,386	5,078	8,590	1,504	7,663
Mother in labor force	21,722	12,750	4,838	10,810	18,799	13,058	4,031	11,089	2,609	10,084	707	8,797
Mother not in labor force	34,903	11,059	12,335	9,869	31,997	11,406	11,379	10,105	2,469	7,290	797	6,724
Father employed	52,950	12,022	16,229	10,372	47,863	12,279	14,636	10,611	4,435	9,038	1,355	7,945
Mother in labor force	20,285	12,988	4,509	11,009	17,665	13,265	3,790	11,326	2,347	10,534	632	9,000
Mother not in labor force	32,665	11,371	11,720	10,072	30,198	11,661	10,846	10,328	2,088	7,780	723	6,975
Father unemployed	1,769	8,413	588	6,973	1,464	8,717	485	7,067	257	6,270	85	6,500
Mother in labor force	749	9,293	216	7,250	607	9,480	162	7,000	122	6,842	44	(2)
Mother not in labor force	1,020	7,960	372	6,865	857	8,312	323	7,126	135	5,722	41	(2)
Father not in labor force	1,906	6,139	357	4,806	1,469	6,435	288	5,062	386	5,140	64	(2)
Mother in labor force	688	8,612	114	6,161	527	8,777	79	6,546	140	6,500	31	(2)
Mother not in labor force	1,218	4,919	243	4,341	942	5,050	209	4,472	246	4,489	33	(2)
Female family head	7,924	4,207	1,977	2,915	4,967	4,619	1,130	2,897	2,855	3,673	821	3,000
Mother in labor force	4,040	5,486	769	3,784	2,740	5,929	464	4,000	1,246	[illegible]	292	3,594
Employed	3,676	5,793	654	4,157	2,545	6,112	416	4,256	1,078	4,807	226	4,121
Unemployed	364	2,353	115	2,023	195	2,697	48	(2)	168	2,049	66	(2)
Mother not in labor force	3,884	3,229	1,208	2,502	2,227	3,227	666	2,417	1,609	3,115	529	2,096
Other male family head	706	9,155	85	9,000	540	9,525	64	(2)	160	7,636	20	(2)

[1] Figures for March 1970 and 1971 were revised by using 1970 Census-based population controls comparable with those used for the March 1972 data. Previously published figures for 1970 and 1971 were based on population controls from the 1960 Census.

[2] Median not shown where base is less than 75,000.

Even when children in these families had a working mother, she was most likely to be in comparatively low-level clerical or service occupations.[5]

Family size

In both husband–wife families and those headed by women, the average number of children per family edged downward between 1970 and 1972. The decline took place among both white and Negro families, especially Negro families headed by women. (See table 4.) In 1972, 15 percent of all American children were in families with only one child under age 18; 29 percent were in families with 2 children; 25 percent, 3 children; and 31 percent, 4 children or more. Negro children were half again as likely as white children to be in large families. The proportion of families with four children or more has declined among white and Negro families since 1970.

The lower number of births and smaller average size of family appear to be more than a temporary phenomenon. A recent Census Bureau study indicated that, on average, the number of children young wives age 18 to 24 expect to have in their lifetime fell from 2.9 in 1967 to 2.4 in 1971 and to 2.3 in 1972.[6] Only 9 percent of these young wives expected to have 4 children or more, compared with 26 percent in 1967. If the total number of children these young women bear has the same relationship to their expectations as shown by earlier studies, their total number of children will approximate only replacement level fertility. The implications for the economy, if the low birth rate and present trends in labor force participation of women continue, are that the number of young adult women who will be in the labor market will increase even faster than was projected a few years ago.[7] ☐

Table 4. Number of families and average number of own children under 18 years old, by type of family, labor force status of mother, and race, March 1970 and March 1972

Type of family, labor force status of mother, and race	1970[1]		1972	
	Number of families with children under 18 years old (thousands)	Average number of children per family	Number of families with children under 18 years old (thousands)	Average number of children per family
ALL FAMILIES				
Husband-wife families	25,547	2.29	25,482	2.22
Mother in labor force	10,210	2.15	10,354	2.10
Mother not in labor force	15,337	2.37	15,128	2.31
Female family head	2,924	2.29	3,598	2.20
Mother in labor force	1,731	2.06	2,062	1.96
Mother not in labor force	1,193	2.63	1,536	2.53
WHITE				
Husband-wife families	23,285	2.25	23,219	2.19
Mother in labor force	8,970	2.10	9,125	2.06
Mother not in labor force	14,315	2.34	14,094	2.27
Female family head	1,994	2.06	2,413	2.06
Mother in labor force	1,237	1.88	1,470	1.86
Mother not in labor force	757	2.34	943	2.36
NEGRO				
Husband-wife families	2,001	2.67	2,002	2.54
Mother in labor force	1,120	2.51	1,106	2.36
Mother not in labor force	881	2.87	896	2.76
Female family head	912	2.77	1,144	2.50
Mother in labor force	485	2.48	571	2.18
Mother not in labor force	427	3.10	573	2.81

[1] Figures for March 1970 were revised from those previously published.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Data in the tables and most of the text are based primarily on information from supplementary questions in the March 1972 survey of the labor force conducted for the Bureau of Labor Statistics by the Bureau of the Census through its Current Population Survey. Estimates based on a sample, such as those shown in the tables, may vary considerably from results obtained by a complete count in cases where the numbers shown are small. Therefore, differences between small numbers or percents based on them may not be significant. Figures for 1972 are not strictly comparable with published data for earlier years because of the introduction of 1970 Census data into the estimation procedures. The revisions had the effect of reducing the number of children in the population compared to earlier published data and of narrowing over-the-year changes.

In this study, children are defined as "own" children of the family head and include sons and daughters, stepchildren, and adopted children. Excluded are other related children (such as nieces, nephews, cousins, grandchildren) and unrelated children.

The term "Negro" refers to Negroes only. Persons in other racial minorities are excluded, unless otherwise indicated.

For a report on this subject using data from the March 1970 survey, see Elizabeth Waldman and Kathryn R. Gover, "Children of women in the labor force," *Monthly Labor Review*, July 1971, pp. 19–25, reprinted with additional tabular data as Special Labor Force Report No. 134.

[2] *Monthly Vital Statistics Report*, Vol. 21, No. 6 (U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Center for Health Statistics, August 29, 1972), p. 1.

[3] Ibid., p. 9.

[4] *Household and Family Characteristics: March 1971, Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics*, Series P–20, No. 233 (Bureau of the Census, 1972), table E.

[5] Ibid., table 20.

[6] *Birth Expectations and Fertility: June 1972*, Series P–20, No. 240 (Bureau of the Census, 1972), p. 1.

[7] Sophia C. Travis, "The U.S. labor force: Projections to 1985," *Monthly Labor Review*, May 1970, pp. 3–12.

Table A. Children under 18 years old, by age, median family income in 1971, type of family, labor force status of parents, and race, March 1972

(Percent distribution)

Age of children, family income, and labor force status of family head	All children 1/ by family type						White						Negro					
	Total	Male head, married, wife present			Other male head 2/	Female head 2/	Total	Male head, married, wife present			Other male head 2/	Female head 2/	Total	Male head, married, wife present			Other male head 2/	Female head 2/
		Total	Wife in labor force	Wife not in labor force				Total	Wife in labor force	Wife not in labor force				Total	Wife in labor force	Wife not in labor force		
CHILDREN UNDER 18 YEARS OLD																		
Number of children:																		
(thousands)	65,255	56,625	21,722	34,903	706	7,924	56,303	50,796	18,799	31,997	540	4,967	8,093	5,078	2,609	2,469	160	2,855
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under $3,000	6.4	2.6	1.7	3.2	7.5	33.5	4.8	2.2	1.5	2.6	7.8	30.5	17.8	6.3	2.9	9.9	6.2	38.8
$3,000 to $4,999	8.3	5.6	4.0	6.6	8.5	27.3	6.5	4.8	3.2	5.8	6.5	24.1	20.5	13.4	10.2	16.8	15.0	33.4
$5,000 to $6,999	10.4	9.2	7.6	10.2	16.3	18.1	9.6	8.5	6.7	9.5	14.1	20.6	15.6	16.7	13.1	20.3	24.4	13.0
$7,000 to $9,999	19.8	20.8	17.2	23.1	24.6	12.1	19.9	20.5	16.4	22.8	25.7	13.5	19.9	25.6	23.2	28.0	20.6	9.8
$10,000 to $14,999	30.1	33.4	35.6	32.1	30.7	6.6	31.9	34.3	36.2	33.1	30.2	8.4	17.9	25.4	31.8	18.6	32.5	3.6
$15,000 and over	24.9	28.3	34.0	24.7	12.3	2.4	27.3	29.8	35.9	26.2	15.7	3.0	8.4	12.6	18.7	6.1	1.2	1.5
Median family income	$10,845	$11,749	$12,750	$11,059	$9,155	$4,207	$11,445	$12,051	$13,058	$11,405	$9,525	$4,619	$6,506	$8,590	$10,084	$7,290	$7,636	$3,673
Head Employed																		
Number of children:																		
(thousands)	57,208	42,950	20,285	22,665	582	3,676	50,851	47,863	17,665	30,198	443	2,545	5,649	4,435	2,347	2,088	136	1,078
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under $3,000	3.0	2.0	1.4	2.4	4.3	33.5	2.5	1.7	1.3	2.0	3.6	15.8	7.9	5.1	2.3	8.1	6.6	19.7
$3,000 to $4,999	5.9	4.7	3.6	5.5	4.6	27.3	4.8	4.1	2.8	4.8	3.6	18.8	15.6	11.4	9.4	13.7	8.1	33.6
$5,000 to $6,999	9.6	8.5	6.5	9.7	14.9	18.1	8.8	7.8	5.8	9.0	11.1	27.6	16.3	15.5	11.3	20.3	27.9	18.1
$7,000 to $9,999	20.8	20.8	16.8	23.2	26.8	12.1	20.4	20.3	16.0	22.8	28.0	20.1	24.7	26.4	23.5	29.6	22.8	18.2
$10,000 to $14,999	33.1	34.5	36.3	33.4	34.7	6.6	34.1	35.2	36.7	34.3	35.0	13.4	23.9	27.6	33.1	21.1	33.1	7.8
$15,000 and over	27.6	29.4	35.4	25.7	14.6	2.4	29.4	30.9	37.3	27.1	18.7	4.2	11.5	14.0	20.4	6.8	1.5	2.7
Median family income	$11,618	$12,022	$12,988	$11,371	$9,923	$5,791	$11,981	$12,279	$13,265	$11,661	$10,548	$6,112	$8,233	$9,036	$10,534	$7,780	$7,968	$4,807
Head Unemployed																		
Number of children:																		
(thousands)	2,187	1,769	749	1,020	54	364	1,692	1,464	607	857	33	195	445	257	122	135	20	168
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(3/)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(3/)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(3/)	100.0
Under $3,000	16.9	7.5	6.0	8.6	-	63.7	12.2	6.4	5.1	7.4	-	55.9	35.3	13.2	12.3	14.1	-	73.2
$3,000 to $4,999	13.9	11.8	10.1	12.9	-	22.3	12.0	10.7	10.4	10.9	-	23.6	21.1	18.3	9.0	26.7	-	20.8
$5,000 to $6,999	17.4	19.7	19.5	19.9	-	6.0	17.4	18.6	17.3	19.5	-	8.2	18.0	28.8	31.1	26.7	-	3.6
$7,000 to $9,999	20.3	23.3	18.7	26.7	-	4.9	23.1	25.1	20.9	28.0	-	7.7	10.8	17.5	10.7	23.6	-	1.2
$10,000 to $14,999	19.5	22.9	27.6	19.4	-	2.5	21.0	23.4	27.7	20.3	-	4.1	11.7	17.1	32.0	3.7	-	.1
$15,000 and over	12.1	14.8	18.0	12.4	-	.5	13.8	15.9	18.6	14.0	-	.5	3.1	5.1	4.9	5.2	-	.1
Median family income	$7,278	$8,413	$9,293	$7,960	(3/)	$2,353	$8,051	$8,711	$9,480	$8,312	(3/)	$2,541	$4,383	$6,270	$6,842	$5,722	(3/)	$2,049
Head not in Labor Force																		
Number of children:																		
(thousands)	5,860	1,906	688	1,218	70	3,884	3,760	1,469	527	942	64	2,227	1,999	386	140	246	6	1,607
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(3/)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(3/)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(3/)	100.0
Under $3,000	35.6	13.7	4.4	19.0	-	46.4	32.5	13.3	4.6	18.3	-	45.1	41.6	15.3	4.3	21.5	-	48.0
$3,000 to $4,999	29.3	24.5	10.6	32.3	-	31.8	27.3	22.8	7.6	31.3	-	30.2	34.1	33.2	24.7	38.2	-	34.6
$5,000 to $6,999	15.5	20.7	26.6	17.4	-	12.7	16.0	19.3	23.3	17.0	-	13.6	12.9	22.3	28.6	18.7	-	10.6
$7,000 to $9,999	10.4	20.0	25.0	17.1	-	5.8	11.8	20.3	24.7	17.8	-	6.4	8.4	21.5	30.0	16.7	-	5.2
$10,000 to $14,999	5.8	13.2	23.8	7.1	-	2.2	7.8	15.3	28.1	8.2	-	3.0	2.2	6.2	10.0	4.1	-	1.2
$15,000 and over	3.4	7.9	9.6	7.0	-	1.2	4.6	9.0	11.8	7.4	-	1.8	.7	1.6	2.9	.8	-	.4
Median family income	$3,981	$6,139	$8,012	$4,919	(3/)	$3,229	$6,217	$6,435	$8,777	$5,050	(3/)	$3,327	$3,453	$5,140	$6,300	$4,489	(3/)	$3,115

See footnotes at end of table.

Table A. Children under 18 years old, by age, median family income in 1971, type of family, labor force status of parents, and race, March 1972--Continued

(Percent distribution)

Age of children, family income, and labor force status of family head	All children 1/ by family type						White						Negro					
	Total	Male head, married, wife present			Other male head 2/	Female head 2/	Total	Male head, married, wife present			Other male head 2/	Female head 2/	Total	Male head, married, wife present			Other male head 2/	Female head 2/
		Total	Wife in labor force	Wife not in labor force				Total	Wife in labor force	Wife not in labor force				Total	Wife in labor force	Wife not in labor force		
CHILDREN 6 TO 17 YEARS OLD																		
Number of children: (thousands)	46,020	39,452	16,884	22,368	621	5,947	39,700	35,387	14,768	20,619	476	3,837	5,748	3,574	1,902	1,672	140	2,034
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under $3,000	5.6	2.3	1.5	2.9	6.8	27.6	4.2	2.0	1.5	2.4	6.5	24.3	15.4	5.1	2.2	8.4	7.1	34.2
$3,000 to $4,999	7.6	4.3	3.2	5.9	8.2	26.6	5.8	3.9	2.4	4.9	8.3	23.4	20.1	12.9	9.6	16.6	15.0	[illegible]
$5,000 to $6,999	9.8	8.0	6.6	9.1	16.9	20.6	8.6	7.2	5.8	8.3	14.3	23.8	15.3	13.8	11.5	16.4	26.5	14.6
$7,000 to $9,999	18.0	18.5	15.2	21.0	25.1	14.1	17.8	17.8	14.0	20.4	25.6	15.7	20.5	25.4	22.0	29.3	32.9	11.0
$10,000 to $14,999	30.3	33.4	35.6	32.2	30.7	8.2	31.9	34.7	35.8	33.1	34.0	10.1	19.3	27.4	34.0	19.9	28.6	4.3
$15,000 and over	28.7	32.8	38.0	29.0	12.4	2.9	31.5	34.0	40.1	31.5	10.2	3.3	9.3	14.0	20.8	6.3	-	1.8
Median family income	$11,483	$12,446	$13,307	$11,736	$9,173	$4,484	$12,133	$12,778	$13,421	$12,124	$9,681	$5,202	$6,807	$8,984	$10,697	$7,569	$7,188	$3,451
Head Employed																		
Number of children: (thousands)	40,263	36,772	15,777	20,995	514	3,022	35,747	33,227	13,875	19,352	391	2,129	4,056	3,080	1,715	1,365	124	852
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under $3,000	2.6	1.7	1.2	2.0	3.7	13.7	2.1	1.5	1.2	1.7	2.6	12.4	6.7	3.6	1.6	6.1	1.3	11.6
$3,000 to $4,999	5.2	3.9	2.8	4.6	6.0	21.9	4.1	3.2	2.2	3.9	3.1	17.3	15.0	10.6	9.0	12.7	7.3	31.8
$5,000 to $6,999	8.7	7.3	5.5	8.4	15.0	26.4	7.9	6.5	5.0	7.6	10.7	28.9	15.1	13.8	9.1	19.1	29.0	18.4
$7,000 to $9,999	18.6	18.3	14.7	21.0	27.0	21.0	17.9	17.8	13.9	20.4	17.9	21.7	24.9	26.2	22.0	31.4	24.2	21.0
$10,000 to $14,999	33.1	34.7	36.1	33.7	35.8	13.3	33.9	35.1	36.2	34.7	46.6	15.1	25.6	30.3	35.3	23.4	32.3	8.9
$15,000 and over	31.8	34.1	39.9	30.4	14.4	4.2	34.0	36.1	41.6	32.3	19.2	4.6	12.7	15.5	22.9	7.4	-	3.1
Median family income	$12,252	$12,739	$13,990	$12,386	$10,096	$6,135	$12,846	$13,019	$13,833	$12,406	$11,806	$6,402	$8,348	$9,528	$11,261	$8,135	$7,800	$5,064
Head Unemployed																		
Number of children: (thousands)	1,458	1,181	533	648	38	249	1,152	979	445	534	26	147	286	172	78	94	17	102
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(3/)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(3/)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(3/)	100.0
Under $3,000	16.3	7.6	6.4	8.6	-	58.6	12.8	6.8	6.1	7.5	-	52.4	31.5	12.2	10.3	13.8	-	67.6
$3,000 to $4,999	11.6	8.6	7.5	9.4	-	23.3	8.3	6.4	6.5	6.4	-	22.4	23.2	20.9	12.8	27.7	-	24.5
$5,000 to $6,999	15.9	17.2	16.7	17.6	-	8.4	15.4	15.6	13.9	17.0	-	10.2	19.8	29.1	34.6	24.5	-	5.9
$7,000 to $9,999	19.3	21.8	17.3	25.6	-	6.0	22.2	23.7	19.6	27.2	-	9.5	9.8	15.1	6.4	21.3	-	1.0
$10,000 to $14,999	21.9	26.2	31.9	21.4	-	3.2	23.8	26.9	32.1	22.5	-	5.4	10.8	18.0	34.6	4.3	-	-
$15,000 and over	15.0	18.5	20.3	17.1	-	.4	17.4	20.5	21.8	19.5	-	-	3.1	4.7	1.3	7.4	-	1.0
Median family income	$7,961	$9,279	$11,324	$8,681	(3/)	$2,548	$8,816	$9,677	$10,394	$9,110	(3/)	$2,883	$4,472	$5,140	$6,356	$5,696	(3/)	$2,217
Head not in Labor Force																		
Number of children: (thousands)	4,289	1,549	574	975	54	2,676	2,801	1,181	448	733	59	1,561	1,406	322	109	213	4	1,080
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(3/)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(3/)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(3/)	100.0
Under $3,000	30.1	12.	4.7	17.3	-	40.3	26.8	12.0	4.7	16.5	-	37.8	37.5	15.0	5.5	19.8	-	44.2
$3,000 to $4,999	28.9	22.1	6.4	31.4	-	32.8	27.0	20.6	4.5	30.4	-	31.8	33.6	30.2	16.5	37.3	-	34.9
$5,000 to $6,999	17.7	21.4	26.5	18.4	-	15.3	17.9	19.8	22.5	18.1	-	16.1	15.2	23.1	30.3	19.3	-	12.8
$7,000 to $9,999	12.3	21.5	26.5	18.5	-	7.1	13.8	21.7	25.7	19.3	-	8.1	10.0	23.4	33.9	17.9	-	5.9
$10,000 to $14,999	6.7	13.7	24.9	7.2	-	2.8	8.9	16.0	28.8	8.2	-	3.7	2.8	7.5	12.8	4.7	-	1.5
$15,000 and over	4.2	8.6	11.0	7.2	-	1.7	5.6	9.9	13.8	7.5	-	2.4	.7	.9	.9	.9	-	.6
Median family income	$4,373	$6,422	$8,401	$5,144	(3/)	$3,390	$4,723	$6,761	$9,139	$5,344	(3/)	$3,765	$3,741	$5,405	$6,818	$4,620	(3/)	$3,334

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 4. Children under 18 years old, by age, median family income in 1971, type of family, labor force status of parents, and race, March 1972--Continued

(Percent distribution)

Age of children, family income, and labor force status of family head	All children 1/ by family type						White						Negro					
	Total	Male head, married, wife present			Other male head 2/	Female head 2/	Total	Male head, married, wife present			Other male head 2/	Female head 2/	Total	Male head, married, wife present			Other male head 2/	Female head 2/
		Total	Wife in labor force	Wife not in labor force				Total	Wife in labor force	Wife not in labor force				Total	Wife in labor force	Wife not in labor force		
CHILDREN UNDER 6 YEARS OLD																		
Number of children: (thousands)	19,235	17,173	4,838	12,335	85	1,977	16,603	15,409	4,031	11,378	64	1,130	2,345	1,504	707	797	20	821
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(3/)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(3/)	100.0
Under $3,000	8.1	3.3	2.1	3.8	13.1	51.5	6.1	2.7	1.7	3.1	-	51.7	13.4	9.2	4.8	13.2	-	36.0
$3,000 to $4,999	9.9	7.7	6.9	8.0	10.7	29.4	8.3	7.2	6.1	7.3	-	26.4	21.8	14.7	11.9	17.3	-	34.2
$5,000 to $6,999	11.9	12.0	11.1	12.4	11.9	10.7	11.3	11.3	10.0	11.7	-	12.4	16.1	20.3	17.5	22.7	-	8.5
$7,000 to $9,999	24.1	26.2	24.1	27.0	21.4	5.8	25.0	26.4	24.0	27.3	-	6.0	18.6	25.8	19.5	25.1	-	[illegible]
$10,000 to $14,999	29.8	33.0	35.6	32.0	30.9	2.0	32.1	34.3	37.5	33.2	-	2.9	14.3	20.7	26.5	15.9	-	[illegible]
$15,000 and over	16.0	17.8	20.2	16.8	11.9	.6	17.2	18.1	20.7	17.5	-	.5	6.0	9.3	19.8	5.8	-	[illegible]
Median family income	$9,475	$10,117	$10,810	$9,869	$9,000	$2,915	$9,968	$10,388	$11,089	$10,105	(3/)	$2,897	$5,624	$7,663	$8,747	$6,724	(3/)	[illegible]
Head Employed																		
Number of children: (thousands)	16,965	16,228	4,508	11,720	63	654	15,104	14,636	3,790	10,846	52	416	1,593	1,355	632	723	12	231
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(3/)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(3/)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(3/)	100.0
Under $3,000	4.0	2.8	2.0	3.2	-	32.0	3.2	2.3	1.6	2.5	-	31.4	11.1	8.5	4.3	11.2	-	23.0
$3,000 to $4,999	7.7	6.7	5.8	7.1	-	31.2	6.6	6.3	5.1	6.4	-	26.2	17.1	13.3	10.4	15.8	-	42.7
$5,000 to $6,999	11.7	11.4	10.0	12.0	-	19.3	11.0	10.7	8.9	11.3	-	21.3	19.4	19.8	16.8	22.5	-	18.8
$7,000 to $9,999	25.9	26.5	24.4	27.3	-	11.8	26.2	26.6	24.1	27.5	-	12.3	24.4	28.1	27.5	28.0	-	11.5
$10,000 to $14,999	32.9	34.1	36.9	33.0	-	4.3	34.6	35.3	38.7	34.1	-	6.6	19.5	22.0	27.2	17.4	-	3.5
$15,000 and over	17.8	18.4	21.0	17.5	-	1.5	18.5	19.0	21.6	18.1	-	2.2	8.4	8.3	13.8	5.2	-	.4
Median family income	$10,105	$10,372	$11,069	$10,072	(3/)	$4,137	$10,480	$10,611	$11,326	$10,328	(3/)	$4,266	$7,285	$7,961	$8,960	$6,875	(3/)	$4,121
Head Unemployed																		
Number of children: (thousands)	719	588	216	372	16	115	540	485	162	323	7	48	159	85	44	41	8	66
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(3/)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(3/)	(3/)	100.0	100.0	(3/)	(3/)	(3/)	(3/)
Under $3,000	17.9	7.3	5.1	8.6	-	74.8	10.9	5.6	2.5	7.1	-	-	42.1	15.3	-	-	-	-
$3,000 to $4,999	18.5	18.2	16.7	19.1	-	20.0	19.8	19.2	21.0	18.3	-	-	13.8	12.9	-	-	-	-
$5,000 to $6,999	20.6	24.8	26.4	23.9	-	.9	22.4	24.5	26.5	23.5	-	-	15.7	28.3	-	-	-	-
$7,000 to $9,999	22.1	26.2	22.2	28.5	-	2.6	25.6	27.8	24.7	29.4	-	-	12.9	22.3	-	-	-	-
$10,000 to $14,999	14.7	16.2	17.1	15.6	-	.9	15.2	16.3	15.4	16.7	-	-	13.2	15.3	-	-	-	-
$15,000 and over	6.1	7.3	12.5	4.3	-	.9	6.1	6.6	9.9	5.0	-	-	3.1	5.9	-	-	-	-
Median family income	$6,324	$6,973	$7,250	$6,865	(3/)	$2,023	$6,719	$7,063	$7,000	$7,126	(3/)	(3/)	$4,182	$6,500	(3/)	(3/)	(3/)	(3/)
Head not in Labor Force																		
Number of children: (thousands)	1,571	357	114	243	6	1,208	959	288	79	209	5	666	593	64	31	33	-	524
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(3/)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(3/)	100.0	100.0	(3/)	(3/)	(3/)	-	100.0
Under $3,000	50.5	18.5	2.6	25.9	-	59.8	49.3	18.6	3.8	24.5	-	62.1	51.6	-	-	-	-	55.7
$3,000 to $4,999	30.5	34.7	31.6	36.2	-	29.4	28.0	32.1	25.3	34.6	-	28.5	35.5	-	-	-	-	34.0
$5,000 to $6,999	9.4	17.6	27.2	13.2	-	7.0	10.4	17.1	27.8	13.0	-	7.7	7.8	-	-	-	-	6.2
$7,000 to $9,999	5.3	13.4	17.5	11.5	-	2.9	6.0	14.3	19.0	12.5	-	2.4	4.5	-	-	-	-	3.6
$10,000 to $14,999	3.1	10.6	18.4	7.0	-	.8	4.6	12.5	24.0	8.2	-	1.2	.5	-	-	-	-	.6
$15,000 and over	1.2	5.0	2.6	6.2	-	.1	1.7	5.2	-	7.2	-	.1	.5	-	-	-	-	-
Median family income	$2,970	$4,806	$6,161	$4,341	(3/)	$2,506	$3,045	$5,082	$6,545	$4,472	(3/)	$2,412	$2,922	(3/)	(3/)	(3/)	-	$2,695

1/ Children are defined as "own" children of the family head and include sons and daughters, stepchildren, and adopted children. Excluded are other related children (nieces, nephews, cousins) and unrelated children.

2/ Widowed, divorced, separated, and single family heads.

3/ Percent and median not shown where base is less than 75,000.

Table A. (Supplementary) Children under 18 years old, by age, median family income in 1971, type of family, head in labor force, and race, March 1972

(Percent distribution)

Age of children, family income, and head in labor force	All children 1/ by family type						White						Negro					
	Total	Male head, married, wife present			Other male head 2/	Female head 2/	Total	Male head, married, wife present			Other male head 2/	Female head 2/	Total	Male head, married, wife present			Other male head 2/	Female head 2/
		Total	Wife in labor force	Wife not in labor force				Total	Wife in labor force	Wife not in labor force				Total	Wife in labor force	Wife not in labor force		
CHILDREN UNDER 18 YEARS OLD																		
Head in Labor Force																		
Number of children:																		
(thousands)-------------	59,395	54,719	21,034	33,685	636	4,040	52,543	49,327	18,272	31,055	476	2,740	6,094	4,692	2,469	2,223	156	1,246
Percent-----------------	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under $3,000------------------	3.5	2.2	1.6	2.6	4.6	21.2	2.8	1.9	1.4	2.1	4.1	18.7	9.9	5.6	2.8	8.6	5.8	24.9
$3,000 to $4,999--------------	6.2	5.0	3.8	5.7	6.4	23.0	5.1	4.3	3.1	5.0	3.6	19.1	16.0	14.8	9.4	16.5	14.7	31.9
$5,000 to $6,999--------------	9.9	7.8	7.0	10.0	15.3	23.3	9.1	8.1	6.2	9.3	12.4	26.2	16.4	16.3	12.3	20.7	26.4	18.1
$7,000 to $9,999--------------	20.7	20.9	16.9	23.3	26.6	18.1	20.5	20.5	16.2	23.0	28.6	19.2	23.7	25.9	22.8	27.3	20.5	15.9
$10,000 to $14,999------------	32.6	34.1	36.0	33.0	33.8	10.9	33.7	34.8	36.4	33.9	33.8	12.8	23.0	27.0	33.0	20.2	33.3	6.8
$15,000 and over--------------	27.1	29.0	34.8	25.3	13.4	3.5	28.9	30.4	36.6	26.8	17.4	3.9	10.9	13.5	19.6	6.7	1.3	2.4
Median family income----------	$11,479	$11,921	$12,885	$11,264	$9,600	$5,496	$11,869	$12,108	$13,166	$11,570	$10,186	$5,929	$7,967	$8,896	$10,404	$7,636	$7,750	$4,451
CHILDREN 6 TO 17 YEARS OLD																		
Head in Labor Force																		
Number of children:																		
(thousands)-------------	41,731	37,903	16,310	21,593	557	3,271	36,899	34,206	14,320	19,886	417	2,276	4,342	3,252	1,793	1,459	136	954
Percent-----------------	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under $3,000------------------	3.1	1.9	1.4	2.2	4.1	17.2	2.5	1.6	1.4	1.8	3.4	15.0	8.3	4.1	2.0	6.7	6.6	23.0
$3,000 to $4,999--------------	5.4	4.0	3.1	4.7	5.7	21.5	4.2	3.3	2.4	4.0	2.9	17.7	15.6	11.2	9.1	13.6	14.7	31.0
$5,000 to $6,999--------------	8.9	7.5	5.9	8.7	15.6	24.9	8.2	6.8	5.3	7.9	12.2	27.7	15.4	14.5	10.4	19.5	26.5	17.1
$7,000 to $9,999--------------	18.6	18.4	14.8	21.1	27.1	19.9	18.1	17.7	14.0	20.4	28.5	20.9	23.9	25.6	21.3	31.0	22.8	17.9
$10,000 to $14,999------------	32.7	34.6	35.9	33.3	33.9	12.6	37.6	34.9	36.0	34.0	35.0	14.5	24.7	29.4	35.2	22.1	29.4	8.0
$15,000 and over--------------	31.2	33.8	38.9	30.0	13.5	3.9	33.5	35.6	40.9	31.8	18.0	4.3	12.1	15.3	22.0	7.1	-	3.0
Median family income----------	$12,128	$12,651	$13,457	$11,993	$9,702	$5,912	$12,567	$12,941	$13,743	$12,329	$10,411	$6,256	$8,338	$9,374	$11,021	$7,989	$7,290	$4,743
CHILDREN UNDER 6 YEARS OLD																		
Head in Labor Force																		
Number of children:																		
(thousands)-------------	17,664	16,816	4,724	12,092	79	769	15,644	15,121	3,952	11,169	59	464	1,752	1,440	676	764	20	292
Percent-----------------	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(3/)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(3/)	100.0
Under $3,000------------------	4.6	3.0	2.1	3.3	7.6	38.4	3.5	2.4	1.7	2.8	-	36.8	13.9	8.9	5.0	12.3	-	39.7
$3,000 to $4,999--------------	8.1	7.1	6.3	7.5	11.4	29.5	7.1	4.5	5.7	6.7	-	26.1	16.8	13.3	10.1	16.1	-	34.6
$5,000 to $6,999--------------	12.1	11.9	10.7	12.3	12.7	16.5	11.4	11.1	9.7	11.7	-	19.2	19.0	20.3	17.3	23.0	-	13.0
$7,000 to $9,999--------------	25.8	26.5	24.3	27.3	22.8	10.4	26.2	26.6	24.1	27.5	-	11.2	23.3	26.5	26.9	26.0	-	9.2
$10,000 to $14,999------------	32.2	33.5	36.0	32.5	32.9	3.8	33.8	34.7	37.8	33.6	-	4.3	18.9	21.6	27.2	16.6	-	3.1
$15,000 and over--------------	17.3	18.0	20.6	17.1	12.7	1.4	18.1	18.6	21.1	17.7	-	2.2	7.9	9.4	13.5	5.9	-	.3
Median family income----------	$9,939	$10,227	$10,917	$9,949	$9,500	$3,784	$10,276	$10,476	$11,170	$10,201	(3/)	$4,000	$7,029	$7,850	$8,962	$6,875	(3/)	$3,594

1/ Children are defined as "own" children of the family head and include sons and daughters, stepchildren, and adopted children. Excluded are other related children (nieces, nephews, cousins) and unrelated children.

2/ Widowed, divorced, separated, and single family heads.

3/ Percent and median not shown where base is less than 75,000.

Summary / SPECIAL LABOR FORCE REPORT

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Bureau of Labor Statistics

Children of Working Mothers, March 1973

While the number of children under age 18 in families dropped sharply between 1970 and 1973, the number whose mothers were in the labor force continued to rise. Of the 64.3 million children in March 1973, 26.2 million had mothers in the labor force, 650,000 more than in March 1970. Over this same period, the number of working mothers rose to 12.8 million. (See table 1 and chart.)

The increase in children of working mothers resulted from a 760,000 gain among those in fatherless families headed by working women, and a decrease of 110,000 children in 2-parent families in which the mother was in the labor force. Most of the children of working mothers were old enough to be in school, but 6 million were under age 6. About 855,000 of these preschoolers were in fatherless families, about a third more than in March 1970.

September 1973

The average size of families in the United States has been declining since the mid-1960's, largely attributable to the falling birth rate. In 1970, for example, births averaged 18.2 per 1,000 persons in the population, compared with 15.0 in early 1973. Between March 1970 and March 1973, for all families with children, the average number of children declined regardless of the mothers' labor force status. Moreover, in March 1973, as in previous years, families with working mothers had fewer children, on average, than those with mothers who did not work outside the home. This held true for families headed by women as well as for 2-parent families, and for white as well as for Negro families. (See table 2.)

Also, whether in 1- or 2-parent families, white or Negro, children whose mothers were in the labor force were in higher income families, on average, than were children whose mothers were neither working nor looking for work. (See table 3.) For example, among white children in 2-parent families, median family income in 1972 was $14,200 if the mother was in the labor force, compared with $12,440 if she was not. The corresponding figures for Negro children were $11,030 and $7,840. A greater proportion of Negro mothers (58 percent) than white mothers (40 percent) in 2-parent families were in the labor force, and their contribution to family income clearly reduced the gap between their families' income and that of families of white children. (Note: Income was reported for the year 1972; labor force status was reported for March 1973.)

About 11-1/2 million children, or nearly 1 of every 5 under age 18 were in families where the father was either absent (8.3 million), unemployed (1.4 million), or out of the labor force (1.9 million). Nearly half (45 percent) of all Negro children were living under these circumstances compared with 14 percent of the white children.

These findings are from the annual survey of marital and family characteristics of workers, conducted for the Bureau of Labor Statistics by the Bureau of the Census. Additional information on this subject and other topics, such as children in poor families and day care, will be published in a forthcoming issue of the Monthly Labor Review.

Table 1. Number of children under 18 years old, by age, type of family, labor force status of mother, and race, March 1970 and March 1973

(Numbers in thousands)

Type of family, labor force status of mother, and race	Age of children, 1970			Age of children, 1973		
	Under 18 years	Under 6 years	6 to 17 years	Under 18 years	Under 6 years	6 to 17 years
Total children[1]	65,755	19,606	46,149	64,303	19,145	45,158
Mother in labor force	25,544	5,590	19,954	26,189	5,952	20,237
Husband-wife family	58,399	17,920	40,479	55,238	16,905	38,333
Mother in labor force	21,982	4,947	17,035	21,871	5,097	16,774
Mother not in labor force	36,417	12,973	23,444	33,367	11,808	21,559
Female family head[2]	6,695	1,593	5,102	8,344	2,149	6,195
Mother in labor force	3,562	643	2,919	4,318	855	3,463
Mother not in labor force	3,133	950	2,183	4,026	1,294	2,732
Other male family head[2]	661	93	568	721	91	630
White children, total	56,903	16,940	39,963	55,221	16,416	38,805
Mother in labor force	21,194	4,459	16,735	21,812	4,803	17,009
Husband-wife family	52,336	15,975	36,361	49,710	15,211	34,499
Mother in labor force	18,865	4,083	14,782	18,900	4,263	14,637
Mother not in labor force	33,471	11,892	21,579	30,810	10,948	19,862
Female family head[2]	4,102	908	3,194	4,963	1,149	3,814
Mother in labor force	2,329	376	1,953	2,912	540	2,372
Mother not in labor force	1,773	532	1,241	2,051	609	1,442
Other male family head[2]	465	57	408	548	56	492
Negro children, total	8,054	2,381	5,673	8,146	2,400	5,746
Mother in labor force	4,015	1,031	2,984	3,984	1,031	2,953
Husband-wife family	5,335	1,683	3,652	4,802	1,419	3,383
Mother in labor force	2,810	775	2,035	2,624	725	1,899
Mother not in labor force	2,525	908	1,617	2,178	694	1,484
Female family head[2]	2,529	663	1,866	3,180	950	2,230
Mother in labor force	1,205	256	949	1,360	306	1,054
Mother not in labor force	1,324	407	917	1,820	644	1,176
Other male family head[2]	190	35	155	164	31	133

[1] Children are defined as "own" children of the family head and include never married sons and daughters, step-children, and adopted children. Excluded are other related children such as grandchildren, nieces, nephews, and cousins, and unrelated children.

[2] Widowed, divorced, separated, and single family heads.

NOTE: Figures in this report for periods prior to 1972 have been adjusted to reflect the introduction of 1970 Census data into the estimation procedures. As a result, they may not agree with figures for the same date published previously.

Table 2. Number of families and average number of own children under 18 years old, by type of family, labor force status of mother, and race, March 1970 and March 1973

Type of family, labor force status of mother, and race	March 1970		March 1973	
	Number of families with children under 18 years old (thousands)	Average number of children per family[1]	Number of families with children under 18 years old (thousands)	Average number of children per family[1]
ALL FAMILIES				
Husband-wife families	25,547	2.29	25,395	2.18
Mother in labor force	10,210	2.15	10,592	2.06
Mother not in labor force	15,337	2.37	14,803	2.25
Female family head	2,924	2.29	3,796	2.20
Mother in labor force	1,731	2.06	2,225	1.94
Mother not in labor force	1,193	2.63	1,571	2.56
WHITE				
Husband-wife families	23,285	2.25	23,186	2.14
Mother in labor force	8,970	2.10	9,330	2.03
Mother not in labor force	14,315	2.34	13,856	2.22
Female family head	1,994	2.05	2,465	2.01
Mother in labor force	1,237	1.88	1,571	1.85
Mother not in labor force	757	2.34	894	2.29
NEGRO				
Husband-wife families	2,001	2.67	1,909	2.52
Mother in labor force	1,120	2.51	1,109	2.37
Mother not in labor force	881	2.87	800	2.72
Female family head	912	2.77	1,258	2.53
Mother in labor force	485	2.48	633	2.15
Mother not in labor force	427	3.10	625	2.91

[1] See footnote 1, table 1.

NOTE: See note, table 1.

Table 3. Number of children under 18 years old, median family income in 1972, type of family, labor force status of parents, and race, March 1973

(Numbers in thousands)

Type of family and labor force status of parents, as of March 1972	All children		White		Negro	
	Number	Median family income in 1972	Number	Median family income in 1972	Number	Median family income in 1972
Total children[1]	64,303	$11,775	55,221	$12,466	8,146	$ 6,579
Mother in labor force	26,189	12,597	21,812	13,257	3,984	8,472
Husband-wife families	55,238	12,801	49,710	13,106	4,802	9,328
Mother in labor force	21,871	13,842	18,900	14,198	2,624	11,027
Mother not in labor force	33,367	12,122	30,810	12,441	2,178	7,837
Father employed	51,897	13,090	46,912	13,365	4,318	9,677
Mother in labor force	20,533	14,126	17,830	14,458	2,394	11,406
Mother not in labor force	31,364	12,429	29,082	12,715	1,924	8,214
Father unemployed	1,408	8,798	1,222	8,959	178	7,977
Mother in labor force	614	9,639	495	9,796	120	8,731
Mother not in labor force	794	8,068	727	8,284	58	(2)
Father not in labor force	1,933	6,554	1,576	6,932	306	4,977
Mother in labor force	724	8,669	575	9,310	110	6,241
Mother not in labor force	1,209	5,462	1,001	5,751	196	4,457
Female family head	8,344	4,408	4,963	4,942	3,180	3,785
Mother in labor force	4,318	5,749	2,912	6,299	1,360	4,733
Employed	3,873	6,015	2,681	6,495	1,151	5,070
Unemployed	445	3,540	231	4,174	209	2,850
Mother not in labor force	4,026	3,495	2,051	3,698	1,820	3,240
Other male family head	721	10,531	548	11,638	164	6,742

[1] See footnote 1, table 1.

[2] Median income not shown where base is less than 75,000.

NOTE: See note, table 1.

Trends in the Number of Children by Type of Family (own children under 18 years of age)

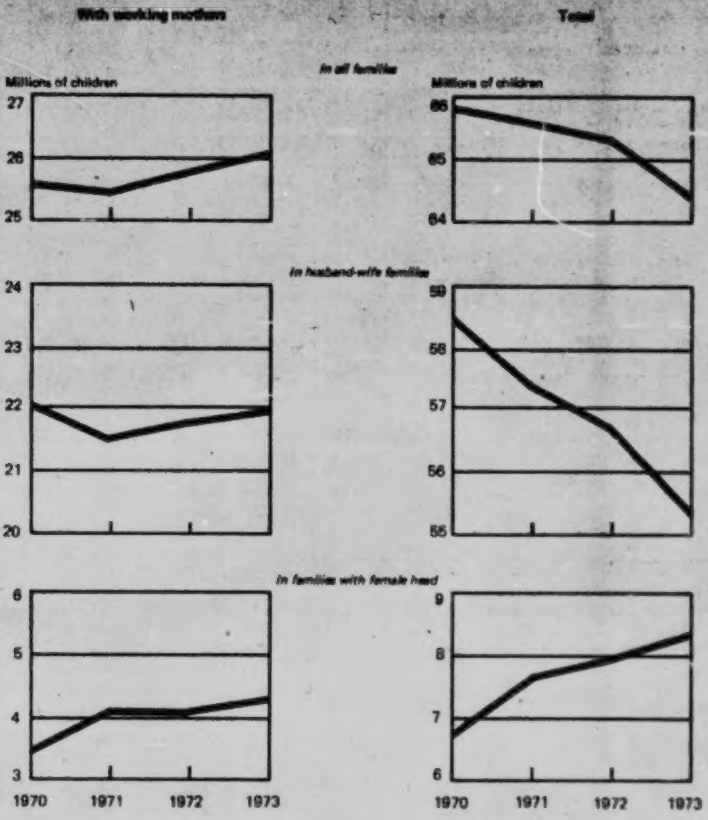
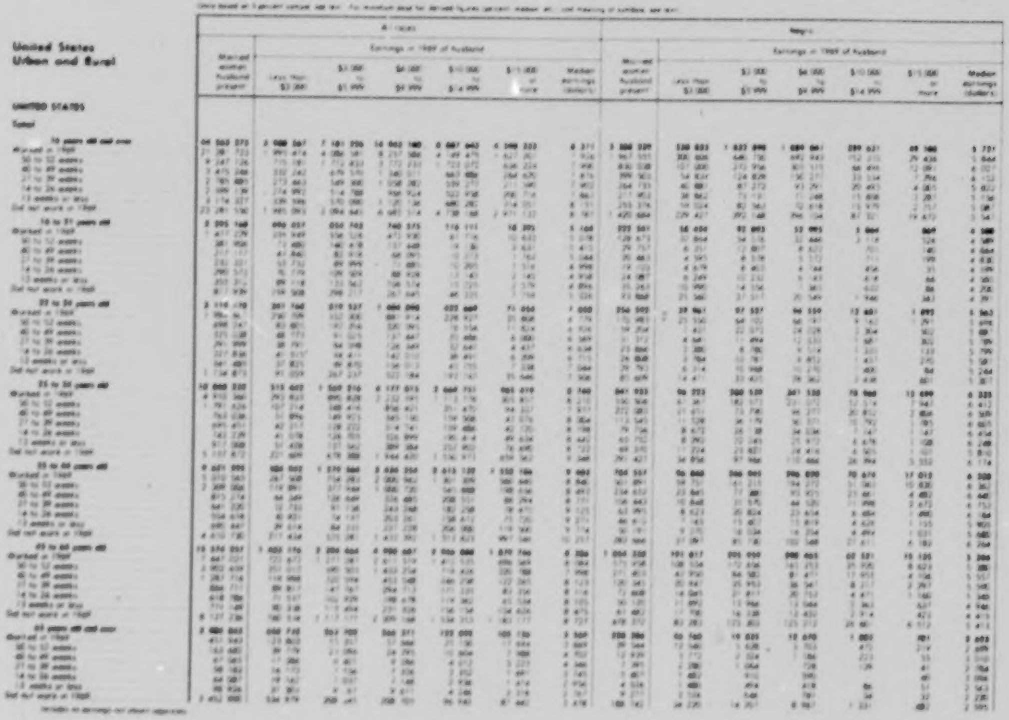


Table 26. Earnings in 1969 and Race of Husband by Weeks Worked in 1969 and Age of Wife and Presence and Age of Own Children: 1970



United States
Urban and Rural
UNITED STATES
Total
All races
Negro
Earnings in 1969 of husband
Married women, husband present
Less than $3,000
$3,000 to $5,999
$6,000 to $9,999
$10,000 to $14,999
$15,000 or more
Median earnings (dollars)

EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND WORK EXPERIENCE

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, Supplementary Report, PC(S1)-42, "Selected Labor Force Characteristics of Persons and Families for the United States: 1970."

Table 26 Earnings in 1969 and Race of Husband by Weeks Worked in 1969 and Age of Wife and Presence and Age of Own Children: 1970—Continued

[Data based on 5-percent sample; see text. For minimum base for derived figures (percent, median, etc.) and meaning of symbols, see text]

United States Urban and Rural	All races							Negro						
	Married women husband present	Earnings in 1969 of husband: Less than $3,000	$3,000 to $5,999	$6,000 to $9,999	$10,000 to $14,999	$15,000 or more	Median earnings (dollars)	Married women husband present	Earnings in 1969 of husband: Less than $3,000	$3,000 to $5,999	$6,000 to $9,999	$10,000 to $14,999	$15,000 or more	Median earnings (dollars)
UNITED STATES—Con.														
With Own Children Under 6 Years Old														
16 years old and over	12 307 196	880 850	2 282 611	4 944 861	2 835 707	1 126 605	8 250	1 001 535	161 232	300 077	304 120	86 054	16 785	5 705
Worked in 1969	4 996 197	386 141	1 129 306	2 231 389	916 551	254 461	7 691	633 600	89 214	226 468	240 472	49 922	7 767	5 886
50 to 52 weeks	1 332 095	94 071	307 779	618 289	217 900	63 715	7 611	208 430	24 208	75 822	83 264	16 303	2 271	6 019
40 to 49 weeks	684 873	54 863	160 990	308 861	115 508	31 782	7 556	116 140	13 968	39 365	67 461	9 972	1 733	6 246
27 to 39 weeks	753 274	57 899	178 319	342 351	130 504	34 403	7 583	97 387	13 047	34 821	37 919	7 929	1 240	5 966
14 to 26 weeks	949 886	73 048	215 237	422 170	182 974	44 962	7 714	97 122	14 717	35 204	35 750	7 161	1 264	5 780
13 weeks or less	1 276 069	106 260	266 981	539 718	269 665	79 599	7 911	114 521	23 274	41 256	37 098	7 957	1 279	5 338
Did not work in 1969	7 210 999	414 715	1 153 305	2 712 652	1 919 156	881 984	8 909	457 935	72 018	161 609	153 667	34 932	7 018	5 647
16 to 21 years old	1 100 039	194 785	450 361	433 237	66 766	9 250	5 366	100 259	37 336	63 989	37 080	3 653	673	4 986
Worked in 1969	594 199	100 536	233 508	217 221	28 983	4 072	5 462	80 082	19 272	34 082	20 914	1 995	208	4 668
50 to 52 weeks	83 250	12 363	32 741	31 826	3 795	687	5 597	16 114	3 424	7 229	4 575	256	81	4 809
40 to 49 weeks	69 932	11 801	27 782	25 159	3 673	384	5 439	11 484	2 395	4 950	3 326	412	43	4 920
27 to 39 weeks	98 156	15 627	39 745	35 802	4 512	613	5 455	12 557	2 751	5 644	3 288	312	35	4 735
14 to 26 weeks	138 229	23 050	54 084	51 486	6 729	968	5 502	16 124	3 894	6 972	4 325	464	27	4 698
13 weeks or less	204 632	37 687	79 156	72 948	10 274	1 440	5 390	23 804	6 808	10 087	5 466	557	22	4 381
Did not work in 1969	505 830	94 249	216 757	215 006	37 783	5 186	5 633	69 176	18 054	29 107	16 026	1 658	265	4 484
22 to 24 years old	1 906 903	157 590	386 790	963 352	301 890	47 152	7 225	184 706	27 447	72 013	66 416	9 175	1 220	5 570
Worked in 1969	995 393	85 082	277 101	488 995	115 651	16 067	7 054	114 779	16 089	44 044	45 259	6 161	697	5 727
50 to 52 weeks	223 851	20 419	65 236	109 434	21 090	3 739	6 888	33 735	4 324	12 947	13 543	1 720	250	5 796
40 to 49 weeks	134 988	13 096	37 991	65 882	13 765	2 144	6 932	19 663	2 546	7 461	7 996	1 105	134	5 844
27 to 39 weeks	158 236	13 289	44 520	79 583	17 612	1 848	7 036	17 094	2 338	6 237	7 244	938	57	5 919
14 to 26 weeks	214 538	17 261	60 666	105 048	26 215	3 484	7 082	21 080	2 637	8 579	8 201	1 142	194	5 707
13 weeks or less	263 780	21 817	68 680	129 048	36 969	4 851	7 246	23 199	4 247	8 820	8 275	1 256	62	5 439
Did not work in 1969	909 510	71 716	229 697	474 357	116 248	31 085	7 603	69 925	11 358	27 969	23 157	3 014	542	5 324
25 to 34 years old	6 421 066	296 032	959 463	2 663 884	1 773 631	667 886	8 875	497 441	56 273	160 058	200 760	47 712	8 063	6 321
Worked in 1969	2 515 973	138 699	461 739	1 172 409	564 054	148 340	8 191	300 667	33 074	101 372	126 483	28 766	4 222	6 396
50 to 52 weeks	699 530	40 141	146 001	341 490	126 230	12 708	7 841	103 768	9 095	35 914	44 500	9 385	1 174	6 436
40 to 49 weeks	349 966	20 767	71 757	164 808	69 264	18 345	7 940	58 676	5 797	18 597	26 100	5 690	1 046	6 647
27 to 39 weeks	375 712	21 322	72 021	177 903	80 461	20 430	8 085	48 108	4 986	16 445	20 673	4 730	625	6 445
14 to 26 weeks	466 827	23 357	79 506	215 619	116 393	27 411	8 380	43 609	5 107	14 388	17 965	4 638	659	6 419
13 weeks or less	623 938	33 112	92 454	272 509	171 706	69 466	8 701	46 706	7 286	16 028	17 245	4 319	718	5 903
Did not work in 1969	3 905 091	158 153	497 704	1 490 475	1 209 577	499 466	9 413	196 574	23 199	66 686	74 277	18 952	3 841	6 193
35 to 44 years old	2 326 229	136 253	314 259	793 997	643 760	395 805	9 511	214 540	31 507	69 401	75 085	21 665	4 535	6 810
Worked in 1969	793 412	51 150	134 677	318 744	190 555	78 330	8 521	115 708	16 447	38 396	41 664	11 689	2 427	6 044
50 to 52 weeks	283 942	17 515	53 939	120 391	59 958	23 606	8 201	45 393	5 013	16 179	16 972	4 410	701	6 081
40 to 49 weeks	115 357	7 590	20 056	47 852	26 393	9 693	8 353	22 080	2 435	6 780	8 813	2 499	456	6 577
27 to 39 weeks	108 956	6 686	18 976	44 994	25 596	10 399	8 459	16 804	2 659	5 320	5 918	1 140	429	6 039
14 to 26 weeks	119 050	8 082	18 501	46 295	31 499	12 706	8 740	14 233	2 568	4 657	4 695	1 386	364	5 749
13 weeks or less	166 107	11 277	23 205	59 212	47 109	22 429	9 184	17 188	3 772	5 250	5 246	1 646	477	5 528
Did not work in 1969	1 532 817	75 103	179 582	474 253	453 205	317 475	10 230	98 832	15 060	31 005	33 441	9 976	2 108	5 974
45 years old and over	284 971	25 368	51 846	90 581	59 651	36 404	8 687	45 901	8 679	14 616	13 870	2 849	475	5 273
Worked in 1969	97 220	9 874	22 281	34 020	17 308	7 652	7 577	22 163	4 332	7 724	6 112	1 317	213	5 139
50 to 52 weeks	41 522	3 633	9 862	15 148	6 827	2 975	7 512	9 420	1 549	3 353	2 654	532	65	5 261
40 to 49 weeks	14 630	1 609	3 404	5 160	2 413	1 239	7 472	4 227	793	1 567	1 226	266	54	5 221
27 to 39 weeks	12 214	975	3 049	4 069	2 323	1 112	7 710	2 824	313	1 175	796	201	94	5 493
14 to 26 weeks	11 242	1 290	2 480	3 722	2 138	893	7 603	2 068	516	608	564	133		4 947
13 weeks or less	17 612	2 367	3 486	5 921	3 617	1 433	7 725	3 624	1 167	1 071	872	185		4 354
Did not work in 1969	187 751	15 494	29 565	58 561	42 343	28 772	8 090	23 420	4 347	6 842	6 766	1 532	262	5 424

[1] Includes no earnings not shown separately.

Table 14. Women Ever Married 14 to 59 Years Old by Labor Force and Marital Status, Presence and Age of Own Children, Age, and Race: 1970 and 1960

[Data based on 5-percent sample; see text. For minimum base for derived figures (percent, median, etc.) and meaning of symbols, see text]

United States	All races						Negro¹					
	Population		Labor force				Population		Labor force			
			Number		Percent				Number		Percent	
	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960
WOMEN EVER MARRIED												
Women 14 to 59 years old	**45 306 196**	**41 029 618**	**21 361 741**	**15 446 586**	**47 1**	**37 6**	**4 579 533**	**4 436 754**	**2 594 670**	**2 152 075**	**56 7**	**48 5**
No own children under 18 years	17 501 921	15 071 965	9 973 343	7 538 299	57 0	50 0	1 800 384	1 965 702	1 081 660	1 128 292	60 1	57 4
With own children under 18 years	27 804 275	25 957 653	11 388 398	7 908 287	41 0	30 5	2 779 149	2 471 052	1 513 010	1 023 783	54 4	41 4
Youngest 6 to 17 years	14 414 530	11 629 846	7 270 050	4 899 638	50 4	42 1	1 348 912	900 146	822 822	491 134	61 0	54 6
12 to 17 years	6 178 795	5 146 869	3 342 893	2 415 013	54 1	46 9	521 677	349 648	322 028	199 427	61 7	57 0
6 to 11 years	8 235 735	6 482 977	3 927 157	2 484 625	47 7	38 3	827 235	550 498	500 794	291 707	60 5	53 0
None 12 to 17 years	3 186 249	2 951 015	1 553 544	1 147 554	48 8	38 9	315 440	264 174	202 049	147 159	64 1	55 7
1 or more 12 to 17 years	5 049 486	3 531 962	2 373 613	1 337 071	47 0	37 9	511 795	286 324	298 745	144 548	58 4	50 5
Youngest under 6 years	13 389 745	14 327 807	4 118 348	3 008 649	30 8	21 0	1 430 237	1 570 906	690 188	532 649	48 3	33 9
3 to 5 years	5 381 353	4 842 353	1 985 838	1 308 338	36 9	27 0	593 508	461 957	327 161	205 132	55 1	44 4
Under 3 years	8 008 392	9 485 454	2 132 510	1 700 311	26 6	17 9	836 729	1 108 949	363 027	327 517	43 4	29 5
MARRIED WOMEN, HUSBAND PRESENT												
Women 14 to 59 years old	**37 788 394**	**35 059 721**	**16 491 845**	**11 733 562**	**43 6**	**33 5**	**2 936 299**	**3 022 663**	**1 613 670**	**1 295 683**	**55 0**	**42 9**
No own children under 18 years	13 142 240	11 368 379	7 079 477	5 153 320	53 9	45 3	968 295	1 112 736	561 906	581 671	58 0	52 3
With own children under 18 years	24 646 154	23 591 342	9 412 368	6 580 242	38 2	27 8	1 968 004	1 909 927	1 051 764	714 012	53 4	37 4
Youngest 6 to 17 years	12 514 723	10 311 076	5 955 438	4 010 431	47 6	38 9	902 769	645 231	538 338	323 796	59 6	50 2
12 to 17 years	5 284 993	4 464 757	2 706 524	1 934 866	51 2	43 3	338 535	242 591	201 192	126 151	59 4	52 0
6 to 11 years	7 229 730	5 846 319	3 248 914	2 075 565	44 9	35 5	564 234	402 640	337 146	197 645	59 8	49 1
None 12 to 17 years	2 740 812	2 623 574	1 234 572	924 536	45 0	35 2	214 385	189 401	133 166	96 638	62 1	51 0
1 or more 12 to 17 years	4 488 918	3 222 745	2 014 342	1 151 029	44 9	35 7	349 849	213 239	203 980	101 007	58 3	47 4
Youngest under 6 years	12 131 431	13 380 266	3 456 930	2 569 811	28 5	19 2	1 065 235	1 264 696	513 426	390 216	48 2	30 9
3 to 5 years	4 794 753	4 472 473	1 632 294	1 102 735	34 0	24 7	425 260	356 322	234 034	145 818	55 0	40 9
Under 3 years	7 336 678	8 907 793	1 824 636	1 467 076	24 9	16 5	639 975	908 374	279 392	244 398	43 7	26 9
OTHER WOMEN EVER MARRIED												
Women 14 to 59 years old	**7 517 802**	**5 969 897**	**4 869 896**	**3 713 024**	**64 8**	**62 2**	**1 643 234**	**1 414 091**	**981 000**	**856 392**	**59 7**	**60 6**
No own children under 18 years	4 359 681	3 703 586	2 893 866	2 384 979	66 4	64 4	832 089	852 966	519 754	546 621	62 5	64 1
With own children under 18 years	3 158 121	2 266 311	1 976 030	1 328 045	62 6	58 6	811 145	561 125	461 246	309 771	56 9	55 2
Youngest 6 to 17 years	1 899 807	1 318 770	1 314 612	889 207	69 2	67 4	446 143	254 915	284 484	167 338	63 8	65 6
12 to 17 years	893 802	682 112	636 369	480 147	71 2	70 4	183 142	107 057	120 836	73 276	66 0	68 4
6 to 11 years	1 006 005	636 658	678 243	409 060	67 4	64 3	263 001	147 858	163 648	94 062	62 2	63 6
None 12 to 17 years	445 437	327 441	318 972	223 018	71 6	68 1	101 055	74 773	68 883	50 521	68 2	67 6
1 or more 12 to 17 years	560 568	309 217	359 271	186 042	64 1	60 2	161 946	73 085	94 765	43 541	58 5	59 6
Youngest under 6 years	1 258 314	947 541	661 418	438 838	52 6	46 3	365 002	306 210	176 762	142 433	48 4	46 5
3 to 5 years	586 600	369 880	353 544	205 603	60 3	55 6	168 248	105 635	93 127	59 314	55 4	56 1
Under 3 years	671 714	577 661	307 874	233 235	45 8	40 4	196 754	200 575	83 635	83 119	42 5	41 4

¹Data for 1960 pertain to races other than white

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, Vol. II, 6A, "Employment Status and Work Experience."

Mr. BARABBA. During the last two decades, 1952 to 1972, median family money income in the United States has nearly tripled; and even after accounting for the effects of inflation over this period, it has still doubled, resulting in higher levels and standards of living for the American family.

One of the main reasons for this overall increase in family income is the fact that more and more wives are going to work to supplement the family income and thereby taking advantage of increasing opportunities to achieve more comfortable levels of living.

In March of 1973, nearly 41 percent of the wives in husband-wife families were in the labor force, whereas 20 years earlier in March 1953 only 26 percent of the wives were working. The median income in 1953 for husband-wife families with the wife in the labor force ($4,900) was about 29 percent higher than the median income of families with the wife not in the labor force ($3,810); but between 1952 and 1972, this difference has widened in both absolute and relative terms.

By 1972, the median income of the husband-wife family with the wife in the labor force ($13,900) was 32 percent greater than that of the family with a nonworking wife ($10,560). Statistics from the "Special Labor Force Report Series" published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the years 1958 through 1970 support the observation that the wife's contribution to family income has climbed steadily in recent years. These data show that in 1958, the wife's earnings accounted for about 20 percent of total family income, but by 1970 her earnings accounted for 27 percent.

This is a relatively brief summary of what statistics we have available at the Bureau. We appreciate the opportunity of providing statistical background for a committee such as this.

If there are any questions, Mr. Levine, Dr. Glick or I will be happy to answer or get the information for you.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for a most useful statement on what the census statistics reflect concerning the family.

Your last figures related to families which had three or more earners. Do you have data on teenage employment, such as how many are working, what are their earnings, and what kind of families they come from?

Mr. GLICK. We have special reports from the 1970 census that show the income of young persons by the income of their parents' family with whom they live. We shall identify this table when we send other material to you.

Senator MONDALE. If you have those figures, I would appreciate seeing them.

It seems to me that many years ago we were worried and properly so, about exploitation of child labor, but now, if I understand teenagers correctly, they want to work. Our laws and our traditions discourage that, not to mention our employment picture. I was wondering whether it would be time to take another look at that. Young people need to work, they want the money, they need pride, they need to develop working skills, and they have time on their hands. If that work develops in a way so that it results in a learning experience, it could help the families, particularly the moderate- and low-income families.

Mr. **Barabba.** I think Mr. Levine could address himself generally, and we could follow up with more detailed information.

Mr. **Levine.** The labor force as defined by the Department of Labor in publishing statistics each month, Senator, is limited to the population 16 years of age and older. However, we do collect for them limited statistics for the 14- and 15-year-old population, and we do have characteristics for that group.

However, as a routine matter, we do not have any data for those under 14 years of age who might be working at any type of job whatsoever.

Periodically, the Children's Bureau in HEW and occasionally the Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor do sponsor special studies in which they try to get information for those who are under 14 years of age and occasionally more extensive detail for the 14- to 15-year-old population.

Senator **Mondale.** If you could give us what you have on that, I appreciate it.

On page 5 of your testimony, you note that in 1973 the average family size is three and one-half and that only 0.3 persons are in the category of elderly. How does this compare with the number of elderly persons in the average family in previous years?

Mr. **Glick.** The number of elderly persons who live in family groups has been declining because they tend to have their own separate residences. The actual figures that correspond to this for early dates are not in our repertoire that we have with us today, but we could furnish you information on this if you would like.

Senator **Mondale.** Would you submit that for the record?

Mr. **Glick.** All right.

[The information subsequently supplied follows:]

YOUTH IN LABOR FORCE

Table 2. **Labor Force Status by Single Years of Age and Sex: 1940 to 1970**

(Data for years prior to 1960 exclude Alaska and Hawaii. Data based on 5 percent sample; see text. For minimum base for derived figures (percent, median, etc.) and meaning of symbols, see text.)

United States	Population				Labor force								Difference between labor force rates of 1940 and 1970
					Number				Percent				
	1970	1960	1950	1940	1970	1960	1950	1940	1970	1960	1950	1940	
MALE													
14 years old and over	**71 685 070**	**61 022 395**	**54 610 050**	**50 563 840**	**52 217 606**	**47 242 212**	**43 117 580**	**39 956 000**	**73.0**	**77.4**	**79.0**	**79.1**	-6.1
14 and 15 years old	4 246 149	2 812 424	2 176 830	2 442 320	607 494	452 843	338 220	198 520	14.3	16.1	15.5	8.1	6.2
16 years old and over	**67 239 729**	**58 219 871**	**52 433 220**	**48 101 520**	**51 610 110**	**46 789 369**	**42 779 380**	**39 760 280**	**76.8**	**80.4**	**81.6**	**82.7**	-5.9
16 to 19 years	7 600 858	5 219 457	4 266 210	4 953 480	3 637 392	2 606 496	2 204 430	2 366 220	47.8	49.9	51.7	47.8	
16 years	2 005 360	1 442 172	1 057 290	1 250 240	595 142	430 667	310 740	275 420	29.7	29.9	29.4	22.0	7.7
17 years	1 956 794	1 446 355	1 059 720	1 208 440	845 440	628 952	450 570	447 760	43.2	43.5	42.5	37.1	6.1
18 years	1 899 720	1 234 976	1 093 050	1 280 940	1 071 782	749 453	667 890	751 540	56.4	60.7	61.1	58.7	-2.3
19 years	1 746 984	1 095 954	1 056 150	1 213 860	1 125 028	797 414	775 230	891 500	64.4	72.8	73.4	73.4	-9.0
20 and 21 years	3 188 291	2 122 219	2 154 000	2 314 180	2 344 735	1 725 534	1 706 610	1 935 680	73.5	81.3	79.2	83.6	-10.1
20 years	1 637 976	1 052 579	1 041 870	1 143 140	1 170 126	835 974	817 080	929 600	71.4	79.4	78.4	81.3	-9.9
21 years	1 550 315	1 069 640	1 112 130	1 171 040	1 174 609	889 560	889 530	1 006 080	75.8	83.2	80.0	85.9	-10.1
22 to 24 years	4 572 918	3 106 122	3 386 520	3 353 120	3 934 808	2 776 369	2 830 530	3 056 920	86.0	89.4	83.6	91.2	-5.2
22 years	1 641 610	1 050 437	1 114 290	1 127 200	1 355 927	917 453	907 290	998 040	82.6	87.3	81.4	88.9	-6.3
23 years	1 634 452	1 027 685	1 132 470	1 114 580	1 424 999	920 997	946 410	1 021 480	87.2	89.6	83.6	91.6	-4.4
24 years	1 296 856	1 028 000	1 139 760	1 116 340	1 153 882	937 919	976 830	1 037 400	89.0	91.2	85.7	92.9	-3.9
25 to 29 years	6 569 934	5 303 782	5 900 970	5 439 620	6 112 082	4 980 004	5 333 940	5 155 720	93.0	93.9	90.4	94.8	-1.8
25 years	1 325 611	1 054 684	1 201 440	1 114 520	1 202 959	972 409	1 051 800	1 046 640	90.7	92.2	87.5	93.9	-3.2
26 years	1 366 244	1 013 732	1 167 600	1 094 320	1 265 629	946 081	1 041 900	1 032 880	92.6	93.3	89.2	94.4	-1.8
27 years	1 421 228	1 064 920	1 161 450	1 088 580	1 328 129	1 001 014	1 055 760	1 033 960	93.4	94.0	90.9	95.0	-1.6
28 years	1 257 764	1 052 272	1 203 690	1 090 920	1 183 383	996 210	1 104 780	1 039 580	94.1	94.7	91.8	95.3	-1.2
29 years	1 199 087	1 118 174	1 166 790	1 051 280	1 131 982	1 064 290	1 079 700	1 002 660	94.4	95.2	92.5	95.4	-1.0
30 to 34 years	5 607 593	5 810 184	5 553 210	5 075 880	5 331 948	5 563 092	5 218 740	4 844 020	95.1	95.7	94.0	95.4	-0.3
30 years	1 195 737	1 139 391	1 207 480	1 139 820	1 129 343	1 088 063	1 122 160	1 086 760	94.4	95.5	92.9	95.3	0.9
31 years	1 141 125	1 136 039	1 078 110	946 520	1 087 944	1 087 300	1 012 830	902 620	95.3	95.7	93.9	95.4	0.1
32 years	1 108 758	1 176 588	1 116 330	1 066 120	1 054 469	1 125 916	1 050 750	1 018 200	95.1	95.7	94.1	95.5	-0.4
33 years	1 071 280	1 165 061	1 055 870	955 540	1 020 811	1 117 835	997 190	912 820	95.3	95.9	94.4	95.5	0.2
34 years	1 090 693	1 193 105	1 095 420	967 880	1 039 381	1 143 978	1 035 810	923 620	95.3	95.9	94.6	95.4	-0.1
35 to 39 years	5 431 809	6 059 854	5 453 430	4 759 700	5 174 345	5 805 002	5 165 070	4 527 480	95.3	95.8	94.7	95.1	0.2
35 years	1 098 176	1 233 283	1 147 350	1 029 460	1 047 140	1 182 534	1 083 060	982 440	95.4	95.9	94.4	95.4	
36 years	1 044 038	1 199 983	1 071 180	927 840	994 754	1 149 399	1 015 710	882 840	95.3	95.8	94.8	95.2	0.1
37 years	1 082 996	1 200 077	1 073 910	892 340	1 032 213	1 150 687	1 018 140	849 800	95.3	95.9	94.8	95.2	0.1
38 years	1 083 352	1 224 497	1 097 640	924 920	1 031 522	1 171 065	1 041 030	879 140	95.2	95.6	94.8	95.1	0.1
39 years	1 123 247	1 202 014	1 063 350	985 140	1 068 716	1 151 317	1 007 130	933 260	95.1	95.8	94.7	94.7	0.4
40 to 44 years	5 829 922	5 633 918	4 945 290	4 441 980	5 518 305	5 372 511	4 671 420	4 178 060	94.7	95.4	94.5	94.1	0.6
40 years	1 173 477	1 175 409	1 131 180	1 057 580	1 112 991	1 123 206	1 067 970	997 580	94.8	95.6	94.4	94.3	0.5
41 years	1 137 294	1 154 390	920 400	756 820	1 081 160	1 099 521	870 750	715 080	95.1	95.2	94.6	94.5	0.6
42 years	1 182 855	1 116 739	1 052 550	953 400	1 118 489	1 065 025	993 960	900 140	94.6	95.4	94.4	94.4	0.2
43 years	1 159 048	1 088 105	950 580	854 560	1 096 482	1 038 635	897 720	801 520	94.6	95.5	94.4	93.8	0.8
44 years	1 177 248	1 099 275	890 580	819 620	1 109 183	1 046 124	841 020	763 740	94.2	95.2	94.4	93.2	1.0
45 to 49 years	5 808 783	5 351 915	4 463 310	4 201 900	5 434 823	5 056 592	4 162 380	3 904 200	93.6	94.5	93.3	92.9	0.7
45 years	1 187 495	1 124 311	976 630	932 680	1 113 959	1 068 628	914 830	868 180	94.1	95.0	93.7	93.1	1.0
46 years	1 147 741	1 091 075	863 060	814 160	1 076 123	1 033 816	809 120	759 320	93.8	94.8	93.8	93.3	0.5
47 years	1 159 265	1 071 838	845 880	821 160	1 085 165	1 011 921	791 970	764 520	93.6	94.4	93.6	93.1	0.5
48 years	1 177 274	1 027 424	844 620	850 060	1 099 227	968 710	783 780	786 580	93.4	94.3	92.8	92.5	0.9
49 years	1 141 008	1 037 267	933 120	783 840	1 060 349	973 517	862 680	725 600	92.9	93.9	92.5	92.6	0.3
50 to 54 years	5 129 398	4 763 515	4 032 810	3 756 140	4 877 481	4 381 315	3 650 940	3 416 220	91.5	92.0	90.5	91.0	0.5
50 years	1 147 694	1 004 426	950 580	909 860	1 056 612	933 953	866 610	830 480	92.1	93.0	91.2	91.3	0.8
51 years	1 083 115	970 204	706 880	670 200	995 130	898 956	647 370	612 160	91.9	92.7	91.6	91.3	0.6
52 years	1 050 251	958 299	818 160	807 300	964 979	882 858	743 970	733 000	91.9	92.1	90.9	90.8	1.1
53 years	1 028 021	910 312	771 810	678 840	936 961	830 669	693 030	616 060	91.1	91.3	89.8	90.8	0.3
54 years	1 020 317	920 274	785 400	689 940	923 799	834 879	699 960	624 520	90.5	90.7	89.1	90.5	
55 to 59 years	4 800 385	4 177 519	3 577 470	3 002 960	4 164 741	3 663 674	3 103 410	2 659 020	86.8	87.7	86.7	87.9	-1.1
55 years	1 017 587	883 052	767 520	673 560	904 617	793 997	674 070	602 800	88.9	89.9	87.8	89.5	-0.6
56 years	987 355	835 868	735 150	630 360	871 736	743 630	645 210	561 420	88.3	89.0	87.8	89.1	-0.8
57 years	963 111	823 582	706 530	564 480	835 423	722 942	612 510	495 840	86.7	87.8	86.7	87.8	-1.1
58 years	929 605	736 107	708 180	592 340	797 149	638 461	609 690	515 020	85.8	86.7	86.1	86.9	-1.1
59 years	902 727	898 910	660 090	542 220	755 816	764 644	561 930	463 940	83.7	85.1	85.1	85.6	-1.9
60 to 64 years	4 058 508	3 374 538	2 969 790	2 404 820	2 971 373	2 624 075	2 358 600	1 899 140	73.2	77.8	79.4	79.0	-5.8
60 years	903 894	727 196	701 070	595 140	734 527	604 907	575 250	487 380	81.3	83.2	82.1	81.9	-0.6
61 years	833 288	681 610	553 050	411 660	660 161	549 857	450 330	334 940	79.2	80.7	81.4	81.4	-2.2
62 years	815 483	651 371	602 640	478 500	593 035	511 934	482 280	381 140	72.7	78.6	80.0	79.7	-7.0
63 years	761 166	652 073	568 530	466 300	513 670	493 766	441 300	358 600	67.5	75.7	77.6	76.9	-9.4
64 years	744 677	662 288	544 500	453 220	469 980	463 611	409 440	337 080	63.1	70.0	75.2	74.4	-11.3
65 to 69 years	3 116 348	2 877 064	2 396 430	1 894 940	1 225 018	1 266 561	1 431 180	1 125 780	39.3	44.0	59.7	59.4	-20.1
65 years	695 794	652 654	624 640	502 100	327 765	349 999	422 740	335 900	47.1	53.6	67.7	66.9	-19.8
66 years	656 927	601 746	477 510	358 920	275 220	276 094	300 300	222 360	41.9	45.9	62.9	62.0	-20.1
67 years	628 611	594 958	466 110	374 940	242 816	249 135	271 470	216 540	38.6	41.9	58.2	57.8	-19.2
68 years	555 189	526 401	427 820	349 280	196 762	207 712	231 830	191 660	35.4	39.5	54.2	54.9	-19.5
69 years	579 827	501 305	400 350	309 700	182 455	183 621	204 840	159 320	31.5	36.6	51.2	51.4	-19.9
70 to 74 years	2 324 327	2 130 666	1 599 450	1 271 980	521 824	610 736	618 420	487 880	22.5	28.7	38.7	38.4	-15.9
70 years	534 876	486 249	404 220	345 240	143 765	161 211	180 060	152 060	26.9	33.2	44.5	44.0	-17.1
71 years	484 029	475 477	296 850	236 120	118 957	137 855	124 590	96 320	24.6	29.0	42.0	40.8	-16.2
72 years	453 941	424 598	329 000	262 100	100 514	118 041	132 060	97 940	22.1	27.8	39.0	37.4	-15.3
73 years	434 139	379 737	293 790	226 480	86 022	102 704	99 960	78 100	19.8	26.9	34.0	34.5	-14.7
74 years	417 342	364 605	265 590	202 040	72 566	91 425	81 750	63 460	17.4	25.1	30.8	31.4	-14.0
75 years and over	2 992 655	2 289 118	1 734 330	1 230 820	361 235	357 408	323 610	223 940	12.1	15.6	18.7	18.2	-6.1

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, Supplementary Report, PC(S1)-42, "Selected Labor Force Characteristics of Persons and Families for the United States: 1970."

Table 2 Labor Force Status by Single Years of Age and Sex: 1940 to 1970—continued

(Data for years prior to 1960 exclude Alaska and Hawaii. Data based on 5-percent sample; see text. For minimum base for derived figures (percent, median, etc.) and meaning of symbols, see text)

United States	Population				Labor force								Difference between labor force rates of 1940 and 1970
					Number				Percent				
	1970	1960	1950	1940	1970	1960	1950	1940	1970	1960	1950	1940	
FEMALE													
14 years old and over	**77 910 094**	**64 659 078**	**57 083 190**	**50 471 900**	**31 052 948**	**22 296 423**	**16 553 040**	**13 007 480**	**39.9**	**34.5**	**29.0**	**25.8**	**14.1**
14 and 15 years old	4 055 480	2 698 347	2 091 780	2 405 520	297 124	190 579	109 680	56 140	7.3	7.1	5.2	2.3	5.0
16 years old and over	**73 854 614**	**61 960 731**	**54 991 410**	**48 066 380**	**30 755 824**	**22 105 844**	**16 443 360**	**12 951 340**	**41.6**	**35.7**	**29.9**	**26.9**	**14.7**
16 to 19 years	7 478 805	5 202 227	4 277 550	4 975 640	2 643 622	1 700 018	1 331 370	1 339 600	35.3	32.7	31.1	26.9	8.4
16 years	1 930 161	1 389 689	1 025 940	1 246 460	341 609	217 380	133 320	109 820	17.7	15.6	13.0	8.8	8.9
17 years	1 888 548	1 408 785	1 044 600	1 204 460	559 011	366 257	233 430	216 320	29.6	26.0	22.3	18.0	11.6
18 years	1 875 097	1 244 284	1 098 240	1 302 980	820 766	538 168	440 490	461 780	43.8	43.3	40.1	35.4	8.4
19 years	1 784 999	1 159 469	1 108 770	1 221 740	922 236	578 213	524 130	551 680	51.7	49.9	47.3	45.2	6.5
20 and 21 years	3 477 582	2 239 657	2 276 880	2 422 700	1 943 966	1 081 075	1 048 800	1 157 760	55.9	48.3	46.1	47.8	8.1
20 years	1 771 502	1 127 837	1 120 470	1 220 840	984 707	555 537	525 300	584 020	55.6	49.3	46.9	47.8	7.8
21 years	1 706 080	1 111 820	1 156 410	1 201 860	959 259	525 538	523 500	573 740	56.2	47.3	45.3	47.7	8.5
22 to 24 years	4 876 927	3 238 913	3 592 980	3 497 660	2 756 852	1 379 478	1 472 040	1 540 460	56.5	42.6	41.0	44.0	12.5
22 years	1 760 335	1 087 570	1 183 770	1 171 040	1 026 303	497 730	516 420	547 020	58.3	45.8	43.6	46.7	11.6
23 years	1 744 606	1 064 211	1 196 970	1 171 940	1 000 212	450 547	490 920	515 120	57.3	42.3	41.0	44.0	13.3
24 years	1 371 986	1 087 132	1 212 240	1 154 680	730 337	431 201	464 700	478 320	53.2	39.7	38.3	41.4	11.8
25 to 29 years	6 810 076	5 506 399	6 283 110	5 631 900	3 113 925	1 926 443	2 047 470	1 998 860	45.7	35.0	32.6	35.5	10.2
25 years	1 384 839	1 103 663	1 286 910	1 175 700	692 392	413 845	457 320	456 860	50.0	37.5	35.5	38.9	11.1
26 years	1 420 692	1 051 298	1 252 920	1 146 680	663 115	372 624	419 100	420 500	46.7	35.4	33.5	36.7	10.0
27 years	1 462 339	1 107 337	1 231 020	1 105 780	657 069	381 135	394 560	385 240	44.9	34.4	32.1	34.8	10.1
28 years	1 308 535	1 098 954	1 283 820	1 132 200	570 658	373 066	400 200	387 840	43.6	33.9	31.2	34.3	9.3
29 years	1 233 671	1 145 147	1 228 440	1 071 540	530 691	385 773	375 990	348 420	43.0	33.7	30.6	32.5	10.5
30 to 34 years	5 868 858	6 066 524	5 874 930	5 164 260	2 615 340	2 152 896	1 819 830	1 594 180	44.6	35.5	31.0	30.9	13.7
30 years	1 244 089	1 174 871	1 300 800	1 191 680	544 367	402 025	407 400	401 120	43.8	34.2	31.3	33.7	10.1
31 years	1 186 435	1 173 327	1 113 270	947 120	519 324	406 121	331 980	286 780	43.8	34.6	29.8	30.3	13.5
32 years	1 167 321	1 235 704	1 207 470	1 092 280	517 989	434 114	377 760	341 680	44.4	35.1	31.3	31.3	13.1
33 years	1 121 492	1 222 232	1 114 680	960 900	506 644	439 850	342 810	280 700	45.2	36.0	30.8	29.2	16.0
34 years	1 149 521	1 260 390	1 138 710	972 280	527 016	470 786	359 880	283 900	45.8	37.4	31.6	29.2	16.6
35 to 39 years	5 710 623	6 407 430	5 720 010	4 799 680	2 778 912	2 571 803	1 934 040	1 357 520	48.7	40.1	33.8	28.3	20.4
35 years	1 140 430	1 295 536	1 211 730	1 042 660	532 780	496 558	409 140	314 680	46.7	38.3	33.8	30.2	16.5
36 years	1 107 632	1 278 754	1 134 990	950 820	532 388	493 839	368 700	265 100	48.1	38.6	32.5	27.9	20.2
37 years	1 150 643	1 268 944	1 103 280	881 460	559 599	507 506	366 660	239 060	48.6	40.0	33.2	27.1	21.5
38 years	1 130 409	1 301 452	1 164 360	956 880	560 522	538 396	405 720	270 300	49.6	41.4	34.8	28.2	21.4
39 years	1 181 509	1 263 244	1 105 650	967 860	593 620	535 504	383 820	268 380	50.2	42.4	34.7	27.7	22.5
40 to 44 years	6 149 692	5 873 308	5 127 480	4 349 220	3 221 649	2 660 222	1 864 680	1 130 140	52.4	45.3	36.4	26.0	26.4
40 years	1 240 168	1 220 575	1 210 770	1 084 520	638 303	534 687	456 300	309 900	51.5	43.8	37.7	28.6	22.9
41 years	1 193 462	1 214 885	922 770	717 820	619 563	544 502	323 970	179 600	51.9	44.8	35.1	25.0	26.9
42 years	1 239 347	1 166 794	1 111 740	937 080	643 346	527 999	410 640	245 080	51.9	45.3	36.9	26.2	25.7
43 years	1 232 697	1 131 432	984 000	817 460	657 729	521 276	353 610	203 640	53.4	46.1	35.9	24.9	28.5
44 years	1 244 018	1 139 622	898 200	792 360	662 708	531 758	320 160	191 920	53.3	46.7	35.6	24.2	29.1
45 to 49 years	6 255 178	5 540 319	4 562 760	4 014 400	3 335 078	2 626 101	1 587 510	949 500	53.3	47.4	34.8	23.7	29.6
45 years	1 285 380	1 164 868	993 660	878 820	686 080	545 668	368 160	227 860	53.4	46.8	37.1	25.9	27.5
46 years	1 241 430	1 118 511	883 890	774 740	659 639	531 183	305 340	180 740	53.1	47.5	34.5	23.3	29.8
47 years	1 236 888	1 127 832	860 310	780 520	658 981	536 864	295 230	179 300	53.3	47.6	34.3	23.0	30.3
48 years	1 271 097	1 050 727	889 230	828 960	678 680	498 169	306 630	193 740	53.4	47.4	34.5	23.4	30.0
49 years	1 220 383	1 078 381	935 670	751 360	651 698	514 217	312 150	167 860	53.4	47.7	33.4	22.3	31.1
50 to 54 years	5 741 230	4 913 322	4 125 060	3 492 460	3 009 607	2 254 011	1 271 220	739 720	52.4	45.9	30.8	21.2	31.2
50 years	1 245 832	1 026 383	1 020 030	893 560	664 129	484 771	345 030	211 840	53.3	47.2	33.8	23.7	29.6
51 years	1 159 503	1 004 704	702 670	601 960	612 432	471 730	215 280	125 880	52.8	47.0	30.6	20.9	31.9
52 years	1 140 654	990 145	842 190	731 640	601 368	455 417	258 060	153 060	52.7	46.0	30.6	20.9	31.8
53 years	1 098 985	937 437	770 700	624 180	568 854	420 001	225 450	123 700	51.8	44.8	29.3	19.8	32.0
54 years	1 096 256	954 053	789 470	641 120	562 824	422 092	227 400	125 240	51.3	44.2	28.8	19.5	31.8
55 to 59 years	5 228 025	4 394 284	3 614 720	2 818 820	2 489 944	1 745 120	935 130	521 340	47.6	39.7	25.9	18.5	29.1
55 years	1 091 560	915 892	784 160	638 820	541 040	389 520	219 120	126 980	49.6	42.5	27.9	19.9	29.7
56 years	1 065 256	864 580	737 730	575 200	518 805	351 537	197 220	110 220	48.7	40.7	26.7	19.2	29.5
57 years	1 053 610	865 917	705 630	523 980	506 193	343 945	179 310	94 300	48.0	39.7	25.4	18.0	30.0
58 years	1 003 069	787 326	731 070	569 080	466 301	304 297	181 500	100 820	46.5	38.6	24.8	17.7	28.8
59 years	1 014 530	960 569	656 130	511 740	457 605	355 821	157 980	89 020	45.1	37.0	24.1	17.4	27.7
60 to 64 years	4 599 123	3 710 777	3 021 430	2 322 200	1 675 826	1 089 790	622 170	343 260	36.4	29.4	20.6	14.8	21.6
60 years	1 001 518	770 258	750 990	601 700	429 859	267 030	173 310	101 320	42.9	34.7	23.1	16.8	26.1
61 years	939 703	757 243	552 000	388 340	377 664	243 092	115 890	59 380	40.2	32.1	21.0	15.3	24.9
62 years	920 600	724 565	601 810	458 120	330 473	211 959	125 790	68 060	35.9	29.3	20.9	14.9	21.0
63 years	869 416	711 696	567 390	442 340	283 718	186 061	108 210	60 960	32.6	26.1	19.1	13.8	18.8
64 years	867 886	747 015	549 240	431 700	254 112	181 648	98 970	53 540	29.3	24.3	18.0	12.4	16.9
65 to 69 years	3 897 364	3 288 923	2 605 600	1 902 120	671 337	544 304	339 690	180 940	17.2	16.5	13.0	9.5	7.7
65 years	847 372	724 603	696 580	515 820	186 376	147 063	113 280	61 720	22.0	20.3	16.3	12.0	10.0
66 years	798 040	680 422	504 720	353 860	149 934	119 415	67 770	33 980	18.8	17.6	13.4	9.6	9.2
67 years	784 092	682 967	489 300	364 540	133 210	110 868	59 910	32 500	17.0	16.2	12.2	8.9	8.1
68 years	699 412	604 474	488 430	352 360	102 676	88 084	55 500	28 960	14.7	14.6	11.4	8.2	6.5
69 years	768 448	596 457	426 570	315 540	99 141	78 874	43 230	23 780	12.9	13.2	10.1	7.5	5.4
70 to 74 years	3 115 737	2 524 711	1 790 120	1 292 520	283 437	242 045	114 210	66 160	9.1	9.6	6.4	5.1	4.0
70 years	707 658	574 905	472 980	361 260	78 866	67 183	38 190	22 680	11.1	11.7	8.1	6.3	4.8
71 years	650 823	555 761	318 840	227 300	63 589	56 633	21 300	12 280	9.8	10.2	6.7	5.4	4.4
72 years	604 826	496 233	370 890	266 560	54 991	44 721	22 230	13 880	9.1	9.0	6.0	5.2	3.9
73 years	582 295	452 514	324 150	232 620	45 497	39 743	17 460	9 320	7.8	8.8	5.4	4.0	3.8
74 years	570 135	445 298	303 260	204 780	40 494	33 765	15 030	8 000	7.1	7.6	5.0	3.9	3.2
75 years and over	4 645 394	3 053 937	2 118 780	1 382 800	216 324	132 538	55 200	31 900	4.7	4.3	2.6	2.3	2.4

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS OF THE ELDERLY

Living arrangements of the elderly population (65 years old and over) in the United States: 1970, 1960, and 1950

(Numbers in thousands)

Living arrangements of the elderly	Male			Female		
	1970	1960	1950	1970	1960	1950
Total, 65 years and over	8,433	7,316	5,730	11,658	8,882	6,514
In households	8,069	6,989	5,373	10,913	8,427	6,171
In families	6,602	5,864	4,524	6,836	5,955	4,728
Head of family[1]	6,014	5,125	3,755	1,013	972	891
Wife of head	-	-	-	3,879	2,988	2,023
Child of head	48	9	5	64	19	10
Parent of head	182	234	545	744	724	1,354
Parent-in-law of head	167	251	NA	645	697	NA
Brother or sister of head	98	95	NA	295	266	NA
Bro.-or sister-in-law	34	43	NA	65	69	NA
Other relative of head	59	106	219	132	220	449
Not in families	1,467	1,124	849	4,077	2,472	1,443
Primary individual[2]	1,318	929	592	3,897	2,258	1,176
Secondary individual[3]	149	195	256	180	214	267
Lodger	145	189	244	148	170	220
Resident employee	5	6	13	32	44	47
Not in households[4]	364	327	358	745	455	343
Secondary individual	48	76	186	83	90	136
In rooming house	19	46	NA	21	34	NA
In religious quarters	6	3	NA	28	21	NA
In general hospital[5]	10	11	NA	11	12	NA
In institution (staff)	9	8	NA	20	19	NA
Other	4	8	NA	3	3	NA
Inmate of institution	316	251	171	662	365	207
Mental hospital	55	80	65	68	98	76
Home for the aged	235	139	93	569	249	124
Other institution	26	32	13	24	18	8

[1] Head of household with relatives present.

[2] Head of household with no relatives present.

3/ Includes a small number (9,000 in 1960 and 7,000 in 1950) of persons 65 years old and over in "secondary families"; the 1970 census did not identify these groups of related lodgers and resident employees.

4/ Persons not in households are classified as "persons in group quarters" in recent reports of the Bureau of the Census.

5/ Includes persons residing in nurses' dormitories.

(NA) Not available

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, Vol. II, 4B, Persons by Family Characteristics, table 2; 1960 Census of Population, Vol. II, 4B, Persons by Family Characteristics, table 2, 1950 Census of Population, Vol. IV, 2-D, Marital Status, table 1. Numbers of patients in mental hospitals and of residents in homes for the aged for 1960 are from 1960 Census of Population, Vol. II, 8-A, Inmates of Institutions, tables 5 and 7, and those for 1950 are from 1950 Census of Population, Vol. IV, 2-C, Institutional Population, tables 5 and 7.

Senator MONDALE. On pages 10 and 11 you talk about children in a family as a factor in mobility. Can you tell us what the actual mobility rate is for the types of family you describe, those with children under 6, families with children under 6 and between 6 and 17, and families with children 6 to 17? Maybe you could see if your data breaks it out that way and provide that information to us.

On page 11 of your testimony you state that frequent moving impedes progress in schools for children whose parents are not college graduates. Can you cite any studies that support this conclusion? Has the Census Bureau conducted any studies on the effect of mobility to the child's achievements in school? And has the Bureau conducted studies of the other possible effects of mobility on children?

Mr. GLICK. We do have data on the relationship between mobility and the achievement or performance of children in school. There is a longer statement on this, which we have recently prepared which we will be glad to supply to the subcommittee. [The information subsequently supplied appears as Item B in the Appendix.]

Senator MONDALE. You are convinced that the conclusions set forth in your testimony here are sound on the relevance of mobility? It surprises me.

Mr. GLICK. This is the essence of the data.

Senator MONDALE. Do you have any statistics on the number of family members holding more than one job, the so-called moonlighting phenomenon?

Mr. GLICK. We do have periodic reports on that in our current population survey.

Senator MONDALE. Can you indicate from what kind of families they come, the socioeconomic status?

Mr. LEVINE. We have not prepared tabulations, Senator, by family status for the dual job-holding or moonlighting group as you refer to it. For the Department of Labor, we provide statistics each May on the number of individuals who hold two or more jobs, and these statistics are available from their special report series, but I must admit we have not done it, at least it is my recollection, by family status.

I do not think we have any family profiles of the moonlighters. We have it by occupation for individuals. We have it by marital status, per se, by age, by a number of other characteristics.

Senator MONDALE. By economics?

Mr. LEVINE. We have some data by weekly earnings, by occupation in primary and secondary jobs. I believe we also have information by broad family income categories.

Senator MONDALE. If you could sharpen that for the record, it would be appreciated.

How many families are living in poverty even though the family head works full time, and what proportion of all families does that group represent?

Mr. BARABBA. We can get that for you.

[The material subsequently supplied follows:]

MULTIPLE JOBHOLDING RATES

Table 8. Multiple jobholding rates for all men and married men, 20 to 64 years old, by usual weekly wage or salary earnings on primary job, and age, May 1970

Age	Total	Usual weekly wage or salary earnings on primary job				
		Under $60	$60 to $99	$100 to $149	$150 to $199	$200 and over
All men, 20 to 64 years old	7.9	9.7	7.6	8.2	8.5	6.8
20 to 34 years	7.6	8.1	5.2	7.9	8.9	6.8
20 to 24 years	5.9	6.4	4.4	5.8	8.8	4.9
25 to 34 years	8.4	12.9	5.9	9.2	9.2	7.0
35 to 44 years	9.7	17.7	10.9	10.1	11.0	7.6
45 to 64 years	7.0	10.4	8.9	7.4	6.3	6.1
45 to 54 years	7.9	14.2	11.0	8.4	6.9	6.8
55 to 64 years	5.7	7.5	6.8	5.9	5.2	4.6
Married men, 1/ 20 to 64 years old	8.5	14.6	9.4	9.0	8.9	7.0
20 to 34 years	8.8	15.1	7.2	9.2	9.7	7.3
20 to 24 years	7.7	11.0	6.8	7.2	9.5	5.5
25 to 34 years	9.1	20.0	7.4	10.0	9.7	7.4
35 to 44 years	10.0	20.4	12.6	10.7	11.1	7.7
45 to 64 years	7.3	12.6	9.7	7.7	6.7	6.2
45 to 54 years	8.2	17.5	12.2	8.7	7.2	6.9
55 to 64 years	5.9	9.2	7.2	6.1	5.7	4.7

1/ Married, spouse present.

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Special Labor Force Report 139, "Multiple Jobholding in 1970 and 1971."

WORK AND POVERTY

Table 26. Work Experience of Head--Families and Unrelated Individuals Below the Low-Income Level in 1971 by Sex and Race of Head

(Numbers in thousands. Families and unrelated individuals as of March 1972)

Work experience and sex of head	All races			White			Negro		
	Total	Below low-income level		Total	Below low-income level		Total	Below low-income level	
		Number	Percent of Total		Number	Percent of Total		Number	Percent of Total
ALL FAMILIES									
Total	53,296	5,303	10.0	47,641	3,751	7.9	5,157	1,484	28.8
Head worked in 1971	44,168	2,809	6.4	39,844	2,002	5.0	3,893	764	19.6
Worked at full-time job	41,055	2,082	5.1	37,236	1,531	4.1	3,416	515	15.1
50 to 52 weeks	33,187	1,084	3.3	30,370	803	2.6	2,512	265	10.5
40 to 49 weeks	3,402	209	6.1	3,018	146	4.8	347	56	16.1
27 to 39 weeks	2,123	204	9.6	1,826	151	8.3	267	51	19.1
14 to 26 weeks	1,523	294	19.3	1,325	215	16.2	182	77	42.3
13 weeks or less	820	291	35.5	696	216	31.0	108	66	61.1
Worked at part-time job	3,113	727	23.4	2,609	472	18.1	476	249	52.3
50 to 52 weeks	1,307	225	17.2	1,116	152	13.6	176	72	40.9
40 to 49 weeks	348	66	19.0	301	48	15.9	45	18	(B)
27 to 39 weeks	364	80	22.0	296	40	13.5	61	37	(B)
14 to 26 weeks	530	136	25.7	437	88	20.1	92	47	51.1
13 weeks or less	565	221	39.1	458	145	31.7	103	75	72.8
Head worked 1 to 49 weeks, total	9,675	1,500	15.5	8,358	1,047	12.5	1,205	427	35.4
Main reason for working part year:									
Unemployed	4,295	574	13.4	3,747	409	10.9	500	153	30.6
Other	5,380	927	17.2	4,611	638	13.8	705	274	38.9
Head did not work in 1971	8,108	2,422	29.9	6,848	1,683	24.6	1,202	713	59.3
Main reason for not working									
Ill or disabled	2,183	760	34.8	1,724	510	29.6	440	241	54.8
Keeping house	1,756	940	53.6	1,274	573	44.9	472	360	76.2
Going to school	145	52	36.1	121	40	33.0	22	12	(B)
Unable to find work	193	118	61.4	136	69	51.0	52	44	(B)
Retired	3,668	505	13.8	3,451	457	13.2	197	44	22.3
Other	163	46	28.2	142	35	24.6	20	12	(B)
Head in Armed Forces	1,020	72	7.1	948	65	6.9	62	7	(B)
FAMILIES WITH MALE HEAD									
Total	47,105	3,203	6.8	43,152	2,560	5.9	3,516	605	17.2
Head worked in 1971	40,526	2,013	5.0	37,159	1,577	4.2	2,980	410	13.8
Worked at full-time job	38,189	1,614	4.2	35,079	1,270	3.6	2,747	322	11.7
50 to 52 weeks	31,233	943	3.0	28,851	739	2.6	2,098	191	9.1
40 to 49 weeks	3,144	174	5.5	2,838	129	4.5	273	41	15.0
27 to 39 weeks	1,896	154	8.1	1,660	118	7.1	207	35	16.9
14 to 26 weeks	1,316	199	15.1	1,177	158	13.4	127	41	32.3
13 weeks or less	600	143	23.8	552	127	23.0	41	14	(B)
Worked at part-time job	2,337	400	17.1	2,080	307	14.8	233	89	38.2
50 to 52 weeks	1,005	137	13.6	908	110	12.1	83	27	32.5
40 to 49 weeks	265	52	19.6	233	41	17.6	30	12	(B)
27 to 39 weeks	269	42	15.6	242	30	12.4	21	9	(B)
14 to 26 weeks	412	69	16.7	361	55	15.2	50	13	(B)
13 weeks or less	388	100	25.8	335	72	21.5	49	28	(B)
Head worked 1 to 49 weeks, total	8,289	934	11.3	7,399	727	9.8	799	193	24.2
Main reason for not working:									
Unemployed	3,945	448	11.4	3,536	362	10.2	366	80	21.9
Other	4,344	485	11.2	3,864	365	9.4	432	113	26.1
Head did not work in 1971	5,559	1,118	20.1	5,045	918	18.2	473	187	39.6
Main reason for not working:									
Ill or disabled	1,740	532	30.5	1,471	400	27.2	253	124	49.2
Going to school	108	32	29.9	95	29	30.9	10	2	(B)
Unable to find work	105	50	47.7	89	37	40.9	14	13	(B)
Retired	132	29	22.0	3,271	429	13.1	185	43	23.2
Other	3,475	476	13.7	119	23	19.3	12	5	(B)
Head in Armed Forces	1,020	72	7.1	948	65	6.9	62	7	(B)

See footnotes at end of table.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 86, "Characteristics of the Low-Income Population: 1971."

Table 26. Work Experience of Head--Families and Unrelated Individuals Below the Low-Income Level in 1971 by Sex and Race of Head—Continued

[Numbers in thousands. Families and unrelated individuals as of March 1972]

Work experience and sex of head	All races: Total	All races: Below low-income level: Number	All races: Below low-income level: Percent of Total	White: Total	White: Below low-income level: Number	White: Below low-income level: Percent of Total	Negro: Total	Negro: Below low-income level: Number	Negro: Below low-income level: Percent of Total
FAMILIES WITH FEMALE HEAD									
Total	6,191	2,100	33.9	4,489	1,191	26.5	1,643	879	53.5
Head worked in 1971	3,643	796	21.8	2,686	428	15.9	913	353	38.7
Worked at full-time job	2,866	468	16.3	2,157	261	12.1	670	193	28.8
50 to 52 weeks	1,954	141	7.2	1,519	66	4.3	415	74	17.9
40 to 49 weeks	256	35	13.6	180	17	9.4	74	15	(B)
27 to 39 weeks	227	50	22.0	166	33	19.9	80	18	(B)
14 to 26 weeks	207	95	45.9	148	57	38.5	55	36	(B)
13 weeks or less	220	148	67.3	144	69	47.9	47	52	(B)
Worked at part-time job	776	327	42.1	529	165	31.2	243	160	65.8
50 to 52 weeks	302	88	29.1	206	62	30.1	93	45	48.4
40 to 49 weeks	83	14	16.9	68	7	(B)	15	8	(B)
27 to 39 weeks	95	38	40.0	54	10	(B)	40	28	(B)
14 to 26 weeks	118	67	56.8	78	34	43.6	42	36	(B)
13 weeks or less	177	121	68.4	133	73	54.9	54	47	(B)
Head worked 1 to 49 weeks, total	1,385	567	40.9	958	320	33.4	405	234	57.7
Main reason for working part year:									
Unemployed	350	125	35.8	212	47	22.2	133	72	54.1
Other	1,035	441	42.6	747	273	36.5	273	161	59.1
Head did not work in 1971	2,548	1,304	51.2	1,804	783	43.4	729	535	73.1
Main reason for not working:									
Ill or disabled	443	228	51.6	253	111	43.7	187	117	62.4
Keeping house	1,756	940	53.6	1,274	573	45.0	473	360	76.2
Going to school	36	21	(B)	36	11	(B)	13	10	(B)
Unable to find work	88	68	77.6	48	33	(B)	38	32	(B)
Retired	193	29	15.1	181	27	14.9	13	6	(B)
Other	31	18	(B)	18	11	(B)	8	1	(B)

Table 29. Children by Work Experience of Head—Own Children Under 18 and Under 6 Years Old Below the Low-Income Level in 1971 by Sex and Race of Head

(Numbers in thousands. Children as of March 1972)

Children by work experience and sex of head	All races			White			Negro		
	Total	Below low-income level		Total	Below low-income level		Total	Below low-income level	
		Number	Percent of Total		Number	Percent of Total		Number	Percent of Total
ALL OWN CHILDREN UNDER 18									
Total	65,280	9,389	14.4	56,303	5,973	10.6	8,100	3,260	40.2
Head worked in 1971	58,692	5,899	10.1	51,612	3,903	7.6	6,309	1,872	29.7
50 to 52 weeks	47,380	3,012	6.4	43,479	2,034	4.7	4,285	893	20.8
Full time	46,513	2,652	5.7	41,841	1,828	4.4	4,059	738	18.2
1 to 49 weeks	11,312	2,887	25.5	9,133	1,869	20.5	2,024	979	48.4
Main reason for working part year:									
Unemployed	6,178	1,267	20.5	5,166	853	16.5	925	401	43.3
Other	5,134	1,619	31.5	3,967	1,016	25.6	1,099	578	52.6
Head did not work in 1971	4,858	3,380	69.6	3,100	1,975	63.7	1,684	1,373	81.6
Main reason for not working:									
Ill or disabled	1,322	810	61.3	913	516	56.5	384	288	75.0
Keeping house	2,751	2,155	78.4	1,654	1,226	74.1	1,067	910	85.3
Going to school	164	54	32.9	110	32	29.2	47	22	(B)
Unable to find work	323	265	81.9	184	137	74.5	135	123	91.1
Other	298	96	32.1	239	63	26.4	51	31	(B)
Head in Armed Forces	1,711	110	6.4	1,591	95	6.0	108	15	13.9
OWN CHILDREN UNDER 18 IN FAMILIES WITH MALE HEAD									
Total	57,331	5,077	8.9	51,336	3,692	7.2	5,240	1,294	24.7
Head worked in 1971	54,140	4,224	7.8	48,603	3,059	6.3	4,831	1,083	22.4
50 to 52 weeks	44,949	2,543	5.7	40,787	1,842	4.5	3,570	629	17.6
Full time	44,397	2,337	5.3	40,339	1,703	4.2	3,469	561	16.2
1 to 49 weeks	9,191	1,681	18.3	7,816	1,217	15.6	1,261	454	36.0
Main reason for working part year:									
Unemployed	5,695	1,016	17.8	4,933	766	15.5	686	248	36.2
Other	3,496	666	19.0	2,883	451	15.6	575	206	35.8
Head did not work in 1971	1,480	742	50.1	1,143	539	47.1	301	197	65.5
Main reason for not working:									
Ill or disabled	996	351	35.3	776	416	53.6	199	130	65.3
Going to school	91	18	19.8	71	18	(B)	14	-	(B)
Unable to find work	137	108	78.7	85	60	70.9	52	48	(B)
Other	256	66	25.7	211	45	21.2	36	19	(B)
Head in Armed Forces	1,711	110	6.4	1,591	95	6.0	108	15	13.9
OWN CHILDREN UNDER 18 IN FAMILIES WITH FEMALE HEAD									
Total	7,930	4,312	54.4	4,966	2,281	45.9	2,860	1,966	68.7
Head worked in 1971	4,552	1,673	36.8	3,009	845	28.1	1,478	789	53.4
50 to 52 weeks	2,430	469	19.3	1,692	192	11.3	715	265	37.0
Full time	2,116	316	14.9	1,502	125	8.4	590	178	30.1
1 to 49 weeks	2,121	1,205	56.8	1,317	653	49.5	763	524	68.8
Main reason for working part year:									
Unemployed	483	253	52.1	232	87	37.6	239	152	63.6
Other	1,639	954	58.2	1,085	565	52.1	524	373	71.2
Head did not work in 1971	3,378	2,637	78.1	1,957	1,436	73.4	1,383	1,176	85.1
Main reason for not working:									
Ill or disabled	328	259	79.5	137	100	73.1	185	158	85.1
Keeping house	2,751	2,155	78.4	1,654	1,226	74.1	1,067	910	85.3
Going to school	72	38	(B)	38	14	(B)	33	22	(B)
Unable to find work	187	157	84.2	99	77	77.7	83	75	90.9
Other	43	30	(B)	28	16	(B)	14	12	(B)

See footnotes at end of table.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 86, "Characteristics of the Low-Income Population: 1971."

Senator Mondale. Do you have an estimate for us today?

Mr. Glick. About 10 percent of all families (in 1971) live in poverty, and 4 percent of families with the head employed 50 to 52 weeks in 1971 were in poverty.

Senator Mondale. How many families with children under 18 are living in poverty even though the family head works full time and what proportion of all families does that group represent?

Mr. Barabba. We will provide that also.

Senator Mondale. You indicated there was a difference between the proportion of divorced and separation based on black and white. Do you have any notion of what explains that?

Mr. Barabba. Senator, sometimes we are identified as a fact gatherer of the Nation, and I am not sure we have gathered any facts that would give an explanation of them in this case, unless Mr. Glick would like to address himself to it.

Mr. Glick. We know that the blacks are more often in the lower economic classes, and separation is a more characteristic way to solve a family problem among the lower economic groups, whether white or black, and as people move up the line, they are more likely to resolve their problems by divorce and remarriage rather than by remaining in a state of separation.

Senator Mondale. Knowing the welfare laws the way they are, would that not create an incentive for some families to appear to be separated for the purpose of making ends meet?

Mr. Glick. We do not have information of course on the motives for separation, but we have found that the economic factor is one of the very important determining elements in the stability or instability of marriage, especially at the very lower level.

Senator **Mondale**. Do you have any statistics reflecting changes in institutionalization of the elderly?

Mr. **Glick**. The older population has been more and more placed into resthomes, particularly where they have been in the need of medical attention. The increase in the number of elderly persons in institutions of this type has tended to compensate for a decline in those in mental hospitals, so the number in institutions has been relatively stable.

Senator **Mondale**. How long have you been with the Census Bureau?

Mr. **Glick**. Since 1939, sir.

Senator **Mondale**. 1939. You have been working in this field ever since.

Mr. **Glick**. Yes, sir.

Senator **Mondale**. Getting away from the figures for a moment, what trends have been the most surprising to you over the years that you have worked in this area of family statistics? What trends have been the most pronounced or most surprising?

Mr. **Glick**. I think one of the most dramatic changes of significance has been the movement toward the separate residence of older people. That of course is coupled with the aging of the population, which has been tremendous since 1940.

Senator **Mondale**. The longevity?

Mr. **Glick**. By this I mean that a larger proportion of persons live through middle age and at least enter old age. The efforts on the part of the Government to make these people capable of separate maintenance has also been very impressive.

Other important population changes include the wide fluctuations in the birth rate and in the stability of marriage. From the depths of the Depression, when fertility rates were low, they rose to a high point around the mid-1950's, and then declined again.

The demographers are not sure they are able to explain why these phenomena take place. At times we think they occur in cycles because one extreme leads to another, a dissatisfaction with one extreme may be followed by another.

The increase in marital stability was very apparent during the 1940's and 1950's, but a sharp decline set in during the 1960's. In the 1960's there were many unusual happenings which we all know about—including the war, the increase in the employment of women, and the increase in divorce.

Senator **Mondale**. Do you think that the increase in employability of women has contributed to family instability?

Mr. **Glick**. In part, but most developments occur because of a combination of things. Women have become more employable because they have more education and fewer children. The increase in employment of women has also resulted in part because more men accept the idea of having a working wife and because an increasing proportion of employers in a widening range of industries have accepted the employment of women. Whether the women's movement in recent years has been a factor in the stability of marriage I think it is a little bit early to assess by the use of the census figures.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much. We would appreciate the data as soon as you can get it, and we may have some other questions as we go along.

Thank you very, very much for your most useful contribution.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Barabba follows:]

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Social and Economic Statistics Administration
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
Washington, D.C. 20233

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

Statement of
Mr. Vincent P. Barabba
Director
Bureau of the Census
Before the
Subcommittee on
Children and Youth
United States Senate
September 24, 1973

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate your invitation to appear before this Committee, to provide you with information on recent changes in the composition and characteristics of American families.

The family has been described as an institution that is essential to the perpetuation of society, as a demographic institution with the prime function of assuring biological and social continuity. The functioning of families underlies the dynamics of population, as the numbers of births and deaths and the volume of migration emerge out of family dynamics. Statistical data collected by the Bureau of the Census in decennial censuses and current population surveys provide some essential information on recent changes and the current status of American families.

The "typical" family undergoes numerous substantial changes during the cycle of married life, from marriage through childbearing, children leaving home, and the eventual dissolution of marriage with the death of one spouse. The typical family itself has changed greatly over the past 20 years because marriage is now occurring about a year later, couples are having approximately one less child, and more couples are surviving jointly for a longer time after their children marry. Many more unmarried persons, especially young people and the elderly, have been establishing or continuing to maintain separate living arrangements apart from relatives.

Types of families.--The Bureau of the Census defines a family as a group of two or more related persons who live together in a house or apartment. Most families include a married couple who maintain a household, and two out of every three of the couples have children or other relatives sharing their living quarters. Statistics on families thus defined are available for dates back to 1940. Ever since 1940, close to 85 percent of all families were of the "husband-wife" type.

Thus, in 1940 about 27.0 million of the 32.2 million families were of this type, and in 1973 the corresponding figures were 46.3 million husband-wife families out of the total of 54.4 million families.

Although the number of families with a female head has constituted only about 10 to 12 percent of the families since 1940, these families are of special interest in the context of the problems of children and youth, and their numbers have been increasing rapidly during the last few years. During the 1960's these families increased twice as much as they had increased during the 1950's. In fact, during the 1960's they increased by a million (from 4.5 to 5.6 million), and by 1973 they had increased another million (to 6.6 million). The increase has been concentrated largely among families of divorced or separated women. Among white families in 1973, only 10 percent had a woman as the head, whereas among Negro families, 35 percent of the heads were women. Thus, the problem of female heads of families is disproportionately a problem of Negro families. Moreover, divorced women are twice as numerous as separated women among white female heads of families, whereas the situation is the reverse among Negro female heads.

The substantial increase in the number of families with a female head is related to many factors, including the sharply upward trend in separation and divorce during the 1960's and early 1970's, the rapid rise in female employment during the 1960's, the absence of many husbands from the home for service in the Armed Forces, and the continued increase in unwed motherhood.

Along with the increase in families with a female head has come an increase during the 1960's and 1970's from 8 percent to 14 percent in the proportion of persons under 18 years of age who were living with their mother only. This inevitably has meant that the proportion of young children living with both parents has been declining. Among Negro children under 18 years of age in 1973, the proportion living with both parents was only 52 percent, whereas 38 percent were living with their mother only, and 10 percent lived apart from their mother. Among whites, 87 percent were living with both parents. The sharp decline in the birth rate since 1960 has brought a corresponding decrease in the proportion of all children in the home who are of preschool age and an increase in the proportion who are of school age. The older children are of an age which makes it easier for the mother to care for them while she works in order to maintain a separate home for herself and the children.

Size of family.--Two interpretations can be given to the "average size of family": (1) the average number of children a woman bears during her lifetime and (2) the average number of family members who live together in a household including parents, children, and other relatives. According to the first interpretation, the average number of children per family among the children who were growing up around 1900 was four (about 4.3). By 1940 the average had dropped all the way down to two children (about 2.3), but by 1960 it had risen again to three children (about 3.3). The decline in fertility during the 1960's and early 1970's has once again lowered the average number of children to two per woman (approximately 2.4). These numbers include all children born alive during the woman's reproductive period, including any who may have subsequently died or left home.

The second interpretation of the size of family cannot be traced back to 1900. However, in 1940 the average number of persons related to each other and living together as one household was 3.8 persons. This figure declined by 1950 to 3.5 as the consequence of changes that occurred during the years of World War II and the immediately following period. By 1960 it had risen slightly to 3.7 as a consequence of the baby boom and remained at about that level throughout the 1960's. However, the effects of the declining birth rate in recent years has caused the average size of family, in this second sense, to fall once again by 1973 to 3.5 persons (3.48). Thus, the average number of family members has fluctuated since 1940 within the rather narrow range of 3.5 to 3.8 persons.

Ages and relationships of family members.--An important consideration in family analysis is the distribution of members between three age groups: the dependent young members, members in the main productive age range, commonly accepted as 18 to 64 years old, and the elderly. In 1973, the average number of members per family was 3.5, of whom 1.3 were in the young group, 2.0 were in the intermediate group, and 0.3 were in the elderly group. Actually, about four out of every ten families either had not yet had any children or their children had all reached 18 years of age. Therefore, if the focus is limited to those families with some children under 18, they had a larger number in the home, on the average, 2.2 children. About three-tenths of the children under 18 were under 6 years of age--preschool age--and the remainder were 6 to 17--school age.

As youths mature they generally leave their parental home to attend college, to obtain employment, and/or to marry. The median age at (first) marriage is now 23 years for men and 21 years for women. This is nearly one year older than the corresponding ages in the mid-1950's. Since men are usually older than women at marriage, they usually leave home at a slightly older age. Yet for both sexes combined, approximately one-fourth of the children 15 to 19 years of age have left home, and a large majority of those who have left home must be 18 or 19 years old. Only one-tenth of the children living with their parents are over 20 years of age, and the majority of them are 20 to 24 years old. Besides the family head, his wife (if any), and their children (if any), there are sometimes other relatives sharing the home. These other relatives constitute only 8.7 million, or less than five percent, of the 182 million family members in the United States at the time of the 1970 census. Of the other relatives, 2.5 were grandchildren of the family head, 2.3 million were parents of the head or wife, 2.1 million were brothers or sisters of the head or wife, one-half million were sons- or daughters-in-law of the head, and the remaining 1.3 million were uncles or aunts, cousins, etc.

Households with and without families.--The term "household" is used by the Bureau of the Census to mean the entire number of persons who occupy a house or apartment that constitutes separate living quarters. Most households have a family as the core members, but they may include partners, lodgers, or resident employees, and, again, they may consist of one person living alone. With the aging of the population, the expansion of social security benefits, and the increasing availability of housing, the number of elderly persons who maintain a household after all of their relatives have left the home has increased quite rapidly in recent decades. Moreover, an increasing number of young unmarried persons have been maintaining a home apart from relatives. Consequently, the number of these "primary individuals" with no relatives sharing their living quarters has increased from 10 percent of all household heads in 1940 to 20 percent in 1973.

Because the rate of household increase has exceeded the rate of population growth since 1940, the average size of household has declined. In 1940 the average size of household was 3.7 persons; by 1960 it was 3.3, and by 1973 it was only 3.0 persons. This decline reflects the net effect of changes in the birth rate and the decrease in doubling up of married couples with their relatives, as well as the large increase in the number of one-person households among both the young and the elderly.

Particulary impressive has been the rapid rate of increase over the past decade in the number of young adults who have been maintaining their own households apart from relatives. The number of women under 35 years old living thus increased by one-fourth in the 1950's, and then the number doubled in the decade of the 1960's and increased an additional 40 percent since 1970. Meanwhile, the number of men under 35 years old maintaining an apartment or house apart from relatives has more than doubled each of the past two decades and increased 60 percent more since 1970. The recent rapid growth of apartment dwelling on the part of young "unmarrieds" has occurred at a time when college enrollment has been rising but college dormitory dwelling has decreased; and when more and more young people have been postponing marriage until after they have had a few years of work experience away from their parental home. The total number of these persons under 35 in 1972 who maintained a household apart from relatives was 2.8 million, three out of four of whom have never married.

The young family head of today is better educated, the median number of years of school completed by adults being 12.3 years in 1973 as compared to 9.3 years in 1950. The wife's task as a homemaker, with smaller families and modern appliances, is easier, and she has more education to prepare her to be a more stimulating parent and to help her to accept greater responsibilities outside the home.

Migration.--Most of the people who change their residences move as family groups or in connection with the formation or dissolution of a family. Every year about 20 percent of the population moves to a different residence. However, from 1948 to 1971, there has been little change in the pattern or percent of persons who report having moved in the preceding year, except for some recent decline in local movement. With minor fluctuations, of the 20 percent of the population who move to a different house, about 12 percent moved within the same county, 3 percent moved to a different county in the same State, and 3 percent moved between States.

Moreover, the percent of the total population born in the State where they currently live has remained relatively stable since 1850. For the country as a whole, this percentage has fluctuated between a low of 64 in

1860 to a high of 70 in 1940. Since 1940 there has been a slight but steady decrease of about 2 percent per decade to 65 percent in 1970.

The likelihood of moving is related to age. Typically, peak mobility rates occur among persons in their early twenties--the age when children normally have left or are leaving their parental homes and are in the process of finding employment, marrying, and setting up households of their own. Between March 1970 and March 1971, the residential mobility rate for persons 22 to 24 years old was 44 percent (48 percent if movers from abroad are included). After this peak is reached, mobility rates generally decline with increasing age. Persons who first married during the year had, as might be expected, an extremely high residential mobility rate of 83 percent.

Blacks have a higher residential mobility rate than whites. The residential mobility rate was 20 percent for blacks and 18 for whites between 1970 and 1971. The higher mobility rate reported by blacks, however, was due to greater local mobility, that is, movement within counties; 17 percent of the black population moved within the same county, but only 11 percent of whites made such moves. The migration rate, or movement between counties, was 7 percent for whites and 4 percent for blacks. Whites had higher rates of migration to other counties within States and between States.

Among men there is a clear relationship between employment status and mobility status. Both the local mobility rate and migration rate are higher for unemployed men than for employed men. Similarly, of men who were employed in 1970, both rates were higher for men who worked less than 50 weeks in 1970 than for men who worked 50 weeks or more.

Migration is also related to a person's class of work and occupation. The wage and salary workers are about twice as likely to move within a year as the self-employed workers, 19 percent and 10 percent, respectively. Self-employed farmers are among the least mobile and wage and salary farm workers are among the most mobile.

Families in which the wife works are more likely to undertake short-distance moving and slightly less likely to undertake long-distance migration than families in which the wife does not work. The wife's employment has a greater effect in raising the family's local mobility rates than in lowering migration rates. The migration of husbands interferes substantially with their wives' career development and in this way contributes to explaining why women earn less than men at the same age, occupation, and educational level.

Education also has a consistent effect on the migration rates of men. Among men 25 years old and over, those who had completed four or more years of college had higher migration rates than those who had completed only high school. Men who were high school graduates, in turn, had higher migration rates than men who had completed only elementary school. On the other hand, men who were not high school graduates were more likely than better-educated men to make moves within the local community.

Married couples without young children are more geographically mobile than those with such children. Among husband-wife couples with children, ages of children exercise a consistent mobility differential; within families classified by age of the head, families with children under

6 years old only are the most mobile both within and between counties, followed by those with both children under 6 and 6 to 17 years old, and followed in turn by families with children 6 to 17 years old only. Female family heads with children are generally more geographically mobile than male family heads (wife present) at the same age and with the same number and ages of children present.

Frequent moving impedes progress in school for children whose parents are not college graduates. For children of college graduates frequent moving does not seem to hinder normal progress through the school system. Thus, children who have made several interstate moves are less likely to be behind in school than less mobile children simply because frequent interstate migration is most likely to characterize well-educated parents and well-educated parents tend to have children who do well in school. The predominance of the well-educated among long-distance movers and among those who settle in new residential developments may offer a partial explanation of the fact that growing communities tend to have children of above average scholastic ability.

Urban and rural residence of families.--The exodus of rural population to the cities has been largely a movement from farms to nonfarm areas over the last several decades. Farm families constituted one-third of all families in 1930, one-fifth in 1940, and only one-twentieth in 1970. However, there has been no absolute change of significance between 1940 and 1970 in the number of rural families--including the rural-nonfarm as well as the rural-farm families. In 1940, there were 14 million rural families and in 1970 there were also 14 million rural families. Thus, all of the increase in families between 1940 and 1970 has occurred in urban areas.

Employment of family members.--An important recent trend that has influenced the pattern of American family life has been an increasing number of multiple-worker families. In 1962, there were 16.1 million husband-wife families in which both the head and at least one other family member were in the labor force. This constituted 45 percent of all husband-wife families in which the family head was working. By 1972, this proportion had increased to 55 percent and the number had grown to 21.3 million families.

The primary contribution to this increase in multiple-worker families has been the growth in labor force participation among married women. For example, in 1950 less than one-fourth of the wives in the United States were in the labor force and for those women with children under 6 years of age the labor force rate was only about 12 percent. However, in 1972 over 40 percent of all wives were in the labor force, and even among those with children under 6 years old 30 percent participated in the labor force.

Several developments have contributed to making work in the marketplace more possible and more acceptable for many women. The expansion in employment opportunities for women is probably the most important factor leading to their increased labor force participation. One relevant development has been the growth in the service sector of the economy in general. Another has been the expansion in such fields as teaching and clerical work and also in retail trade (with its flexible hours and opportunities for part-time employment--characteristics important to married women, especially those with children). Also, there have been more opportunities to work as trained nurses and in other health fields which have been traditional enclaves for female employment. So important, in fact, have new openings in the service and white collar industries been to women that virtually all the increase in female employment between 1960 and 1971 was in one or the other of these two sectors, continuing patterns established between 1947 and 1960.

Other developments that have encouraged women to enter the labor force include increases in the earning potential of women resulting from better education; changes in attitudes about women participating in the labor force in general and in certain occupations in particular; efforts through legal and social means toward greater equality of opportunity for women in the labor force; and declines in the fertility rate.

Income of family members.--A particularly valuable socioeconomic indicator in the United States is the average amount of money income received by families. The different levels of income received by the various segments of the U.S. population can best be represented by median family income--a dollar value which divides the distribution of income received into two equal groups--half of the families having incomes below the median and the other half having income above it. The Bureau of the Census has published family income statistics annually from the Current Population Survey since 1947 and in reports of the decennial censuses since 1950. During the last two decades (1952-1972), median family money income in the United States has nearly tripled and even after accounting for the effects of inflation over this period, it has still doubled, resulting in higher levels and standards of living for the American family.

One of the main reasons for this overall increase in family income is the fact that more and more wives are going to work to supplement the family income and thereby taking advantage of increasing opportunities to achieve more comfortable levels of living.

In March of 1973 nearly 41 percent of the wives in husband-wife families were in the labor force, whereas twenty years earlier in March 1953 only 26 percent of the wives were working. The median income in 1952 for husband-wife families with the wife in the labor force ($4,900) was about 29 percent higher than the median income of families with the wife not in the labor force ($3,810), but between 1952 and 1972, this difference has widened in both absolute and relative terms. The median income of the husband-wife family with the wife in the labor force ($13,000) was 32 percent greater than that of the family with a nonworking wife ($10,360). Statistics from the Special Labor Force Report Series published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the years 1958 through 1970 support the observation that the wife's contribution to family income has climbed steadily in recent years. These data show that in 1958 the wife's earnings accounted for about 20 percent of total family income, but by 1970 her earnings accounted for 27 percent.

Although the Bureau has not produced any statistics on the contributions of family members other than the head or wife to family income, data have been published annually since 1948 on the distribution of family income by the number of earners in the family--including the head, wife, and other relatives with earnings. In 1948, only 10 percent of all families reported three or more earners but the corresponding proportion in 1972 had risen to 15 percent. In 1948 the median income of families with three or more earners ($5,210) was 83 percent higher than that of families with one earner ($2,850), but by 1972 the median income of families with three or more earners ($17,930) was 89 percent greater than that of families with one earner ($9,492). Thus, the proportion of total family income that was contributed by additional earners has risen somewhat over the last twenty-four years.

This, then, is a brief summary of what our statistics tell us about the American family. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will be happy to answer any questions.

Senator **Mondale**. Our next witness is an old hand before this committee, who served brilliantly in the Office of Child Development, and is now at Yale University, Department of Psychology, Dr. Edward Zigler. We are very pleased to have you with us today.

STATEMENT OF DR. EDWARD ZIGLER, DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY, YALE UNIVERSITY

Mr. **Zigler**. I would like to thank you for the opportunity of testifying before this committee.

I, as a long-time admirer of your efforts on behalf of children and youth, feel that your activities here are especially critical at this particular juncture in our Nation's history of social concern. The consensus among astute observers of our social milieu is that we have entered a fallow period in regard to any meaningful and bold new initiatives on behalf of children and families.

But for the fact that a few older programs, some of debatable value, are still in operation, the current attitude toward the crisis of the American family is one of benign neglect. This apathy, which has even overwhelmed once forceful advocates for children and families, can be traced to a number of causes.

In recent years, we have seen the two initiatives most critical for determining the quality of family life fail to become law: The administration's Welfare Reform Plan and the Child Development Act of 1970. The considerable amount of effort and energy expended on these two pieces of legislation appears to have made people weary and to have given rise to a "what's-the-use?" attitude. In addition, a scholarly, but nevertheless questionable, literature has developed asserting that children's destines reside in their genes, that admired preschool programs such as Head Start are failures, that variations in the quality of schooling make no real difference, and that a variety of recommended intervention efforts would probably be failures if implemented.

This undue pessimism of the early 1970's is greatly at odds with the optimism of the 1960's, but, nevertheless, has fallen on receptive ears as it can so readily be adopted as the intellectual rationale for the apathy which seems to have infected so many of our decision and opinion makers. The hearings which you will conduct here on the American family will serve as an antidote to the nihilism that I have been describing.

Whatever the attitudes or actions of decisionmakers may be, the lives of America's families go on. In many instances, these families know exactly to what unreasonable pressures they are being subjected and which problems must be solved if their lives are to become more satisfying.

The problem is as obvious to the family whose breadwinner works full time and whose salary is still below the poverty level as it is to the more affluent family which, because of inflation, is no longer able to meet its expenses. The working mother who cannot find satisfactory child care arrangements for her children at a fee she can afford to pay knows exactly what her problem is. No further analyses are necessary to illuminate the problems of Indian families whose children are sent to distant boarding schools or of families with severely retarded children whose only recourse is to institutionalize them in settings known for the dehumanization of their residents.

In other instances, many families experience a sense of malaise or a lack of self-actualization due to forces too subtle or too huge for them to fully comprehend. What must be noted here is that the family is but one institution in a complex ecological system consisting of a variety of other institutions. The family is in many ways unique since it lies at the intersect of all of the other institutions in our society and is therefore continually influenced by the policies being pursued by such institutions as government, industry, schools, and the media.

When the Government concerns itself with the movement of cars from place to place and uproots neighborhoods in the process, this has impact on American families. When industries pursue a policy of moving their personnel every 3 or 4 years, or when they convert to a 4-day workweek, this has impact on American families.

When schools decide to treat parents as hostile outsiders or when they determine that day care for school age children is not within their legitimate charge, this affects American families.

And when the media inundate our young and our not-so-young with the message that smelling good is the essence of social success and that families should be judged by the amount of things they possess, this, too, affects the American family.

I am in agreement that the American family is the foundation stone of our great Nation. However, I am also aware that how well a foundation stone does its job is determined by the soundness of the material of which it is comprised and by the pressures to which it is subjected. I agree with many others who feel that a variety of historical, economic, and social factors as well as current pressures make family life in America more difficult today than it once was.

I refer here to the decline of the extended family, to the extremely important phenomenon of the ever-increasing numbers of working mothers, to the increased mobility which has come to characterize the American people, and to those types of urbanization and suburbanization that tend to isolate American families one from another.

I too was surprised by the testimony of the census people in respect to the mobility issue, since it seems to be at odds with what some scholars present to us.

All of these phenomena have taken away supports that families once relied upon. The wisdom of grandparents, aunts and uncles is no longer readily available to young families. The children of working mothers are without an essential nurturant figures for many hours of the day. The life of a mobile family is burdened with discontinuity and upheaval. Our communities are likewise in a continuous state of flux, so that families once able to rely on the immediate neighborhood for assistance in child rearing or crisis intervention find that they are no longer able to do so.

If all of this sounds unrealistic, I would invite any among you to ask yourselves if you know the names of the children living in homes three doors away from your own, and if the adults in those homes know the names of your children. Indeed, even within families there has been a demarcation of activities across age lines, so that parents no longer interact with their own children to the degree that they once did.

We find more and more that children are socializing one another, to their own detriment and to the detriment of the quality of family life. The materialistic emphasis in our society is such that a father thinks that he is doing more for his family by obtaining a second job than he does by devoting time to his own children. Both long-standing male chauvinism and current excesses of the women's liberation movement have led to a devaluation of the role of the woman as mother and homemaker.

We have deluded ourselves into believing that women contribute little to our Nation's productivity by remaining within the home, although homemakers and economists alike know better. Unfortunately such myths are translated into our social policy; not, for example, the feature of HR-1 which required mothers of children as young as 3 years of age to enter the work force if they were to receive benefits.

What we need now is not more rhetoric or empty platitudes concerning the importance of the American family, but, rather, a close examination of families as they exist in their major current forms and a course of action directed at enhancing their viability. This is so obvious that one immediately wonders why no such effort has been systematically and continuously implemented by the Federal Government.

The answer is simple and unfortunate. Unlike other democracies, America has never committed itself to a coherent family policy. We have avoided coming to grips with the problem by taking refuge in the view that the American family is so sacrosanct that the Government should not meddle in its affairs.

The fact of the matter is that the policies of the Government, as well as of all the other institutions in the family's ecology, inject themselves into the affairs of families every day. These effects, as a totality, thereby constitute a national family policy by default, and it is my view that these efforts are as often destructive as they are constructive to healthy family functioning.

Families are the constituencies of the elected members of both the executive and legislative branches of our Government and, therefore, there is an attitude that families are everybody's business. However, in social policymaking, when an institution is everybody's business, it becomes essentially nobody's business. Who in Government speaks for families and advocates in their behalf on the basis of sound analysis? The one agency that could play such a leadership role in developing an explicit family policy is the Office of Child Development, providing that its mandate was enlarged and that it was to become in name and in mission the Office of Child and Family Development.

When I speak to you of a coherent social policy, I am not raising the specter of family policies found in certain nations where authoritarian governments massively invade the everyday lives of the Nation's families. There s no one at any point on our Nation's political spectrum more opposed than I to this sort of governmental intrusion. When I speak of a family policy, I am speaking of a phenomenon not only in keeping with the American ethos, but with the best values and traditions of that ethos.

The construction of a family social policy at the national level would have three facets: First, it would involve identifying what major problems interfere with sound family functioning and determining what solutions to these problems are available, assessing the cost effectiveness of the various solutions that are suggested, and assigning priorities to the specific policies to be implemented.

Second, a family policy would entail the continuous analyses of the impact of other governmental policies for their effects on family life, so that any cost-benefit analysis of these policies would include in its equations the factor of whether the policy in question helps or hurts American families.

Senator MONDALE. Would you yield there? As you know, there has been a suggestion that we should require a family impact statement. This would be very similar to that which we require on the environmental impact statement, through the Council on Environmental Quality. That has proved to be one of the most unique features of the Environmental Policy Act of 1974. No one realized what it would mean at the time, but it has been so important to the environmental movement that many times they have gone on into court to force an agency to produce such a statement, to help focus on the meaning of a particular governmental act to the environment.

Does it make sense to you to require a family impact statement?

Mr. ZIGLER. It would make very good sense and is a great place to begin. The environmental model is a good one. However, I think that it is appropriate to be realistic in these matters. It will not be as easy to do, Senator, for the very simple reason that, whereas we can all agree that there should be a lower sulfur content, it is very much more difficult to agree upon which values we should select as paradigms for the construction of a viable social policy for American families.

What I am saying is that there ought to be some agency responsible for the kind of analysis that would tell us whether any given aspect of a program is beneficial or detrimental to the people whose needs it is intended to serve. It is a tough job, but I certainly think it is one worth doing and that we should begin pursuing it immediately.

Senator MONDALE. But it would be helpful—for example, you refer to the requirement that at age 3 mothers would have to act under one of those welfare proposals—would it not be well to force the Government to focus on: what does this really mean to children? What does it mean to children rather than just looking at the economics of it in the short run?

Mr. ZIGLER. Right. What I am saying is you might get some argument about whether, for instance, having the mother go to work is a good idea or a bad idea in terms of the well-being of the family. It will take some pretty soptisticated and soundly based analyses to say what is correct.

Finally, a national family policy would make use of the regulating, taxation, research, and moral powers of the Federal Government in order to persuade other institutions to adopt policies conducive to healthy family life. Again, I wish to avoid the vision of the Federal Government acting as Big Brother. What I have in mind with respect to this third facet are such possible activities as providing tax credits to industries that provide day care, Government-sponsored research to examine the effects of the 4-day workweek on family life or the value to both industry and families of tailoring the length of the workday to coincide with the length of the schoolday, and informational and technical assistance to schools willing to do more to strengthen family life.

Senator **Mondale.** What is your view of what the 4-day week does to the family? I think this is a significant movement today. Is it your impression that that is helpful?

Mr. **Zigler.** I think it is a perfect example of industry, and perhaps in certain instances workers, making a decision which involves the family without taking the family into consideration. Without benefit of research on this subject, I would venture a guess that it is more harmful than beneficial to American families.

Senator **Mondale.** Your first reaction would be that they would have more time to be at home.

Mr. **Zigler.** I do not think it is going to work that way. First of all, the child will be in school on the fifth day. It will keep fathers and mothers who work those kinds of hours away from home for longer periods of time because you are talking about a 10-hour day now. The only thing that could be a potential asset would be this whole extra day.

The fact of the matter is that the extra day does not necessarily mean that mothers and especially fathers, will interact more with their children. More likely, the parent or parents would engage in a variety of activities, such as hunting trips, which exclude children.

Senator **Mondale.** Please continue.

Mr. **Zigler.** I am aware that formal family policy construction will come slowly to America and I am certainly not here to present any highly polished, final product. Rather, it is the purpose of my testimony to make this committee, and through it, perhaps, the Nation, aware that we have no such policy and that we are operating instead with the aforementioned family policy by default.

Your hearings will be successful if they do indeed produce an awareness on the part of the American people that the Federal establishment seems to be less concerned with formulating a well-articulated family policy than with formulating an agricultural policy or a military policy. Then, at least, a dialog could commence over exactly what role the American people would like to have the Government pursue in regard to issues that affect how well the family functions.

There has, of course, never been a dearth of general suggestions as to what might be done to improve the lives of children and their families. Professionals, lay people, and even Federal bureaucrats regularly convene to make policy recommendations.

Within the past 5 years or so, we have all had access to the deliberations and recommendations of the Presidential Task Force of 1967, chaired by J. McVicker Hunt, the Goreham Committee of 1967 which brought together persons from Federal agencies dealing with children the Joint Commission of Mental Health of Children of 1969, and the White House Conference on Children of 1970.

The Office of Child Development will soon have available the report of the Advisory Committee on Child Development which was, commissioned by OCD through the National Academy of Sciences and chaired by Harold Stevenson. The recommendations made in these various reports, though well thought out, have never received adequate response from either the executive or the legislative branch.

One reason for the minimal impact of past reports is that there is something of the laundry list about them, with everything and anything that might help families included. If each and every recommendation had been acted upon positively, America's families would indeed be experiencing a modern utopia.

Unfortunately, it is much easier to create paper utopias at conferences than it is to get a single piece of legislation with some minimal, but nonetheless obvious, benefits for families enacted into law.

The fact of the matter is that our committees and commissions do not deal sufficiently with the economic and political feasibility of the many recommendations with which they present us. Furthermore, the producers of the plethora of recommendations that we have all examined are not sufficiently aware of the fact that social policy construction essentially involves establishing priorities and selecting among alternatives. This is, of course, not to belittle the efforts to which I have been alluding. As a body of work, this collection of recommendations comprises a conscience which the Nation can employ when dealing with the problem of children and their families. Furthermore, it represents the raw materials that any administration or legislative body can utilize in the construction of a coherent national family policy.

Perhaps as a result of my 2 years of service in Washington, I am now so aware of economic and political realities that I cannot come before you to champion the frequently heard recommendations for improving family life, such as a guaranteed annual income of $6,000 for a family of four and universal developmental day care available free to every family in America.

If such phenomena ever become realities, it will probably be generations hence and therefore of little use to American families who need help now. I have much more modest aspirations for the actions that could be taken by this committee. I cannot help but think of an incident that occurred when, as Director of the Office of Child Development, I was informing an audience of the high quality of day care that was to be provided in the President's welfare reform plan.

A member of that audience asked why, if OCD was so concerned about the quality of day care, it was not doing more to improve the quality of day care already being provided through title IV of the Social Security Act. Unfortunately, I had no very satisfactory answer to this query and therefore did little more than waffle in the best, or possibly worst, bureaucratic tradition.

The point of this story is that, while this may not be the time for large new initiatives, it is certainly time for decisionmakers to examine extant social policies and practices important to families so that we might at least correct those policies which are, at one extreme, thoughtless and uneconomical, and, at the other, involve the Government as a coconspirator in the abuse of children. It also behooves us to examine existing social policies for those features which are so valuable as to demand their greater implementation.

In dealing with current problems of the American family, certainly a Government responsive to family needs must come to grips with the issue of day care for America's working mothers. This is a problem of immense proportions and one for which a solution is not attainable overnight. Its magnitude and difficulty of solution are so great that it appears more politic to ignore it than to engage in efforts that would be helpful to a relaively small percenage of families needing day care. What the Nation really needs is a 20-year plan for a child care system that would involve realistic increments in public and private funding as the development of facilities and personnel warrants. Good quality day care was given the No. 1 priority at the last White House Conference on Children. In a needs assessment carried out to develop a State plan for children in Texas, 60 percent of those queried spontaneously listed day care for their children as their most pressing need.

While I think that the real solution of the day care problem can only come from careful long-term planning, there are several things that can be done immediately to improve the day care situation in our Nation.

Approximately $1 billion was spent in the last fiscal year by the Federal Government for child care, with the bulk of this money going to two programs: Head Start, administered by OCD; and the title IV day care program, administered by the Community Services Agency within SRS.

It should be noted that approximately one-third of the Head Start moneys is being spent for day care for working mothers. There has been no real coordination between these two sizable programs, and the rules, regulations, and philosophy of each of the two programs are at odds with those of the other. Were these two programs combined and operated by a single agency, some order as well as new economies could be brought to the child care effort which the Federal Government is already funding.

Indeed, such a combined program would finally give the Nation at least an embryonic national child care system providing parents with a variety of child care services including the all-important service of day care for working mothers. Such a unified system could be held responsible for insuring the quality of child care that is necessary if children are not to be harmed by programs mounted and funded by the Federal Government. I think that Head Start has been sensitve to the quality issue, while the title IV program has not.

When we think of day care, we often think of centers serving 30 or more children. This accounts for only a small percentage of the day care funded through title IV. A much larger percentage of these funds is paid by local welfare agencies to unlicensed family day care homes which typically serve six or fewer children. Some of these homes are good, but others are ghastly, and thus, we are witnessing Federal funds being spent to place children in circumstances detrimental to their development.

If combining the title IV and Head Start programs into an organized and unified child care system strikes you as a too demanding task, then I would suggest to the committee members that they at least direct their attention to the problem of implementing and enforcing some minimum standards for every kind of day care that is subsidized by Federal funds. Such a set of enforceable and realistic standards was developed under my direction at OCD, and after a close analysis by others within HEW, was approved by the former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Honorable Elliott Richardson.

These standards were then sent to the Office of Management and Budget over a year ago and, to the best of my knowledge, have never again surfaced. Until such standards are promulgated and enforced, children will continue to experience the horrors documented in the Council of Jewish Women's report, "Windows on Day Care." Even within the present framework, day care can be improved and made more available.

Family day care can be of good quality and should continue over the years to be an important component of the total day care picture. It is necessary to provide day care mothers with training and general support by those equipped to give it. We have available to us commonsensical and practical models of how to do this. One good example of this is the Pacific Oaks model in which family day care homes are tied into a network with a central training and technical support facility.

The present day care picture also suffers from a serious lopsidedness in which concern is almost totally limited to the preschool-age child. The fact of the matter is that two-thirds of the children in this Nation who require day care are of school age and need adult supervision before and after school and during vacations. Because of our slowness in developing day care models for school-age children and inducing schools and other institutions to employ such models, we are now witnessing the national tragedy of over 1 million latchkey children, cared for by no one, with probably an equal number being cared for by siblings who are themselves too young to assume such responsibilities.

The human cost of this situation to families and to the Nation as a whole is great indeed. While there is an escalating concern over rising juvenile delinquency figures, few have forcefully pointed out the relationship between the growing phenomenon of young children socializing one another and the rise of delinquency. If this Nation is interested in preventing the delinquency rather than punishing it, a major component of such an attempt would be an expanded school-age day care program.

Another child care problem that can and should be dealt with immediately is that of the need for personnel. Our Nation simply does not have an adequate cadre of appropriately trained individuals to care for even the present number of children in our child care systems. The development of such a cadre should have top priority and should consist in large part of personnel whose salaries can be met without making day care costs astronomical.

OCD moved forcefully into this area by creating a new child care profession in America; namely, the Child Development Associate. The national implementation of the Child Development Associate concept is now in the hands of a consortium consisting of major early childhood education associations and associations representing a variety of consumer and child advocacy groups. A key feature of this new thrust is that accreditation and certification would occur through demonstrated competency rather than on completion of academic programs.

However, if this program is ever to produce child care workers in sufficient quantity, it will require the infusion of some new Federal money, probably in the neighborhood of $10 to $20 million. This is a relatively small amount of money when one thinks of the annual $1 billion being spent, much of which is buying poor day care primarily because well-trained people who can be employed at a reasonable cost are simply not available. While funding to the CDA program has, to my knowledge, been a feature of two bills, neither have been passed into law.

Let me now turn my attention to other problems facing children and families, that are of such magnitude that they constitute a national disgrace. The foster care system in this Nation is in need of a major overhaul. Often, the failure of this system can be traced to lack of money. In other instances, the problem rests on our commitment to questionable procedures and our failure to utilize the know-how readily at our disposal. We find children taken from their homes because no homemaker services were available to aid the family through relatively short periods of crisis or stress. Such mothers' helpers are readily available in nations such as Sweden and England, and it may be noted that this service is 13 times more available in England than it is in the United States.

When children are placed into the foster care system, it is not unusual for them to be lost in its maze, being transferred from social worker to social worker, from family to family, without ever experiencing the stability, affection, and sense of belonging so necessary for normal development.

In many cases, foster children are never returned to their biological familis, and in view of the cost to the State of raising a child to maturity, estimated to be between $40,000 and $60,000, one might ask why such children are not permitted to be adopted by families who can provide them with the emotional environment they so badly need. The answer resides in controversial policies of our State social welfare agencies. For instance, in New York, a foster child cannot be placed for adoption if the biological parents do so much as send one postcard per year to the child.

What is tragic about this state of affairs is that much of it can be avoided. I would refer you to a demonstration project funded by OCD's Children's Bureau and conducted in Nashville, Tenn. This project, involving comprehensive emergency services for children, is now beginning its third year. As a result of its activities, whereas 322 children were placed in children's institutions in 1969, only 22 had to be so placed in 1972. In 1969, almost 200 of these children were less than 6 years of age. During the past 6 months of this program, not a single child under 6 was institutionalized. The Nashville program is an excellent one, and there is no reason that it cannot be implemented in every community in America.

This Nation must do all it can to keep children out of institutions. It has become all too apparent that the typical large institution, be it a State hospital for the emotionally disturbed, a school for delinquent boys, or a State school for the retarded, is destructive to the lives of children and a source of despair for these children's families.

This situation was made abundantly clear in the impressive documentary entitled, "This Child Is Labeled X."

While we should do all we can to avoid institutionalizing children and to remove from institutions children who do not belong there, some children absolutely require institutionalization.

Given my own 15 years of professional activity in this field, I am particularly concerned with the lives of institutionalized retarded children. The Willowbrooks, the Rosewoods, the State schools of Alabama, are all too representative of what our institutionalized retarded children experience. This committee is to be commended for the light it has shed and the action it has taken regarding the problem of parental abuse of children.

However, if our Nation is concerned about child abuse, it must take immediate action on the legalized abuse of children in our State institutions. These institutions invariably receive Federal funds which makes the National Government a co-conspirator in the abuse to which these children are subjected. A national effort involving the cooperation of the Federal and State governments should be immediately begun to correct the national disgrace of our treatment of institutionalized children. My own research as well as the experience of the Scandinavian countries indicates that humane institutionalization constructive to the child's development is possible if we would simply commit ourselves to such a policy. Given the numbers involved, I would give first priority to the problem of institutionalized retarded children.

Finally, I would propose a much expanded effort related to education for parenthood. A small program has already been initiated by OCD and the Office of Education which makes available to schools and youth organizations model courses in parenthood prepared for an adolescent audience. An important feature of this program is that it allows adolescents to work with younger children in Headstart and day care centers as part of the curriculum. We must convince schools and other institutions that they must provide increased support for family life. Teaching young people about the most important role they will ever assume, namely, parenthood, is one such effort.

Others should also be undertaken. Schools could become involved with families long before children reach school age. They can provide needed information to mothers beginning with pregnancy and become a meeting center in which mothers and fathers can learn from one another by exchanging knowledge concerning cognitive and emotional development that can be most helpful to young parents in their child rearing tasks. Model programs of this type are already underway in the Brookline, Mass., and Little Rock, Ark., school systems. Child support centers need not be confined to schools; a number of effective non-school models are also available needing only greater implementation. I am thinking here especially of the Parent and Child Centers administered by the Office of Child Development and certain more experimental programs being conducted at the University of Florida, University of Illinois, and Syracuse University. I also see great promise in the experimental Child and Family Resource Program recently initiated by the Office of Child Development. This program has created centers which provide a wide array of needed services to children and their families.

Let me conclude by saying that it is my conviction that we can spend the money that we already have at our disposal more effective. We certainly know how to do much more than we are presently doing. Frequently, relatively small expenditures will result in the correction of many practices which currently are detrimental to family life.

Perhaps we cannot reasonably expect at this point major new commitments, but we can and should demand the rejection of apathy and negativism and expect a renewed commitment to the proposition that families are indeed important and that it is the Federal Government's role to reduce the stresses and to meet the problems confronting families. Such a renewed commitment would at least constitute a first step in developing a real family policy for America.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much, Dr. Zigler for a brilliant and powerful statement, and one which carries with it special insights from someone who has worked not only on the theoretical problem, but also tried to make it work within Government, directly in the Office of Child Development. I think this statement moves us along a great deal and I am most grateful to you for it.

On page 9 you say:

> It is certainly time for decisionmakers to examine existing social policies and practices important to families so that we might at least correct those policies which are at one extreme thoughtless and uneconomical, and, at the other, involve the Government as a co-conspirator in the abuse of children.

Are you referring to the examples you later gave or do you have other examples that you would list for our consideration?

Mr. ZIGLER. To expand on the examples which I cited earlier, there is no doubt that the Federal Government, by putting medicaid money into State institutions where children are kept literally in a state of filth, is acting in criminal fashion. There is also no doubt that this situation can easily be corrected. However, one can find examples of these policies implicit in past social legislation. For instance, the AFDC concept which fostered the notion that it was in the Nation's best interest to financially support mothers and their children only when there was no father in the home was absolutely mindless and terribly detrimental to the development of children. We used to think that the absence of a father in the home was detrimental essentially because it deprived boys of a necessary model. However, recent research has shown that it is as important for girls to have fathers at home. Thus, when we get involved in social policies of this sort, impact evaluation is essential so that such mindlessness can be avoided. But, our social policy is replete with such examples.

Again, let us be realistic. Money is very, very important. No account of genuine concern displayed through social work or impact evaluation is going to take the place of hard dollars in many families' homes. When one acknowledges the tragedy of the American family whose breadwinner works full time, yet still cannot support his family, one knows that something has to be done. I know that income redistribution is an issue that has been brought repeatedly before the Congress in such forms as minimum income legislation. But surely a person who works full time in this Nation ought to be able to support a family even without benefit of this kind of legislation.

What I am trying to say is that the toll that such phenomena as absent parents and inadequate salaries takes on families is great indeed. If I had more time than this committee should probably take in listening to me, I think that I still could not nearly exhaust the inconsistences, shortcomings, and out-and-out negligence that would surface if the kind of evaluations that I have recommended were to be effected.

Senator MONDALE. I think your list of examples of how we might begin by doing better that which we are already doing makes a lot of sense. I think in most cases that can be done within the existing budgetary restraints. That point is exceedingly well taken.

I was also interested in the section of your testimony which described experiments of emergency services in the home. I gather that those services are designed to help parents and children in the home and to have them take care of their problems there, rather than moving into foster care costs, is that correct?

Mr. Zigler. That is correct.

Senator Mondale. In your opinion, have those efforts been encouraging?

Mr. Zigler. I think that the Nashville story is one that should be brought to national prominence. It is not an expensive project. I think it is viable, feasible, and working splendidly. There is no reason it could not be implemented.

The system puts together a number of commonsense practices: a hotline for parents, a 24-hour service, foster homes in the neighborhood so that if a child has to be moved, he is only moved for a few days. It is a practical service that is welded together into a system which successfully keeps children out of institutions.

As I say, there is nothing in it piece by piece that is terribly expensive or terribly astonishing.

Senator Mondale. Do those studies lead you to believe that most children who are targets for institutionalization could more properly be cared for in their own homes with these kinds of services?

Mr. Zigler. Yes. The study which is published and available certainly indicates that, because the home is where most children are ultimately best cared for. However, again, I do not think that it behooves social policymakers or even child psychologists to be wide-eyed about things. Sometimes children do indeed have to be taken from their homes. In 10 percent of the instances of child abuse, this is necessary.

Senator Mondale. But it was interesting in our hearings when we visited Denver, where Dr. Kempe is doing a remarkable job with the multidisciplinary team there. I think that is where that figure comes from. They found about 10 percent of abused children had to be taken from the home, because the parents are psychotic and they could not handle it. But most of the children could be better handled in the home by working with the parents, by providing babysitting services from time to time rather than taking them out of the home. It is cheaper and better.

Mr. Zigler. It is cheaper, far better for the child, and makes for a healthier family.

Senator Mondale. Now you raised a point about adoption versus foster care, an alternative, and of course public policy that discourages taking children from families as based upon the notion that we do not want the family broken up. In your opinion should that policy be reviewed, or how would you draw the line?

Mr. Zigler. Senator, I think every policy ought to be reviewed. I resonated very positively to your earlier remarks about how the Nation once was so concerned about child labor. It seems that again we have lost our perspective. Now, efforts should be made to bring adolescents back into interaction with adults in constructive settings. We have to always update policy and review it in the light of new circumstances. This certainly has to be done in the sphere of adoptions. I think that there has too often been such a concern with the biological parent that we have done everything to prohibit the legal adoption of children who ought to be adopted.

If you have talked to children, as I have, who have grown up in the social welfare system, really going from home to home to home to home, you know exactly what I am talking about. These children could have been adopted. I am not saying that we should pull children from their parents; rather, we should do everything we can to avoid that. But when that becomes the only sound and constructive alternative for the child, there must be a social policy that permits it.

People want to adopt children more than they ever have. Yet, we are faced with a situation in which there is a dearth of children to be adopted and a wealth of children in the foster care system.

The other disheartening aspect of the adoption problem is that there are what we in social science call hard-to-place children. That is to say, there are children who are up for adoption who are not adopted.

What we are really talking about are black children, handicapped children, and older children. These children can, in fact, be placed with some minimal subsidization. All we would have to do is spend $3,000 or $4,000 to get a black child placed into a home with black parents, who are young themselves and just beginning to move upward, and who are willing but not able to take on that kind of economic responsibility without subsidization.

Seven States have initiated subsidized adoptions, but nobody, to the best of my knowledge, has ever evaluated the success of this approach.

Although it may not always be apparent when I talk about dollar costs and so on, I am very concerned about the placement of children into good homes. I think even those people who are especially concerned about the dollar cost would opt for paying $3,000 or $4,000 to subsidize the adoption of a child into a permanent home, rather than the $40,000 or $60,000 to keep that same child in the social welfare system.

This would be a great service to families and children alike. Somehow, the family that wants to adopt a child, but cannot, because there are supposedly no children to be adopted, and the child who needs to be adopted, but cannot, because he was been earmarked for the foster care system, should, within our welfare structure, be able to find each other.

Senator MONDALE. This is fascinating. I would like to ask several more questions. We had some Indians the other day who said social workers were taking their children away in order to produce them for adoption.

Senator Stafford.

Senator STAFFORD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I apologize for the fact that I am on the Public Works Subcommittee on Air, Water, and Noise Pollution, and that kept me from hearing the first witness here this morning and most of the testimony of Dr. Zigler. But I did hear you in your statement on page 15 where you said Federal Government was in effect a coconspirator in the abuse of children who were institutionalized. I wonder if you would be willing to expand a little bit on what you meant by that statement?

Mr. ZIGLER. I like to think that this is an area in which I am especially knowledgeable. A good deal of my research has been focused on what happens to children in institutions, particularly retarded children, and I feel that it is a disgraceful situation, Senator. Willowbrook is not new. It has been there for a long time.

This is only one of many such institutions. My view of the Government as a coconspirator in the institutional situation is based on the fact that, when one looks into it, one finds that literally millions of dollars are being spent by the Federal Government in institutions which I think are guilty of illegal abuse of children.

By the same token, when we discover that title IV(A) money is being spent to buy day care for children in family day care homes where these children are being tied to chairs or left to wander about where they can be maimed, there, too, I say that the Federal Government is a coconspirator in the abuse of children.

It is these specifics that I have in mind when I make a statement of this kind. I fully appreciate the harshness of this accusation, because we are all men of good will, and we would like good things to happen to children, but there are facts that I think we can no longer blind ourselves to. Situations exist in this country. The Federal Government is responsible in some measure, and the State government is responsible in some measure. People must focus clearly on these very real problems in order to do away with the degradation and brutalization of children. It is one thing to talk about what we ought to be doing in the future, but if we cannot address ourselves to the very obvious problems of the present, what possible use will our children have for these new initiatives which we might entertain?

Senator STAFFORD. Then you are saying that by neglect the Federal Government is in effect being a coconspirator in many cases of child abuse that you have observed, is that about what you are saying?

Mr. ZIGLER. By neglect at the Federal level, but by not wanting to pressure the States too much as well. At the State level, there is a double standard. If you were a church group and you set up a home for children, you would have to meet certain requirements of your particular State. They tend to be fairly stringent and good. But if you, the State, set up an institution for children, you do not have to meet those requirements. I simply think that States have been remiss. But States need help. They need models. I cannot believe that, with the approximately 100 large State institutions for the retarded in this country, we could not mount a relatively inexpensive effort in which the Federal Government would work with the States to develop models of how to make these institutions humane and productive.

Other countries manage this. I have visited state institutions in Denmark, and I know a good deal about the institutions in Sweden. We have done research in my own bailiwick at Yale on the difference in child care practices within institutions in the three countries, and there is a drastic difference. We can do a much better job right now in these institutions. It will not take vast amounts of money. It will take commitment. It will take know-how that we already have, that has been practiced in other countries, and that is about all.

Senator STAFFORD. Do you consider census data to be a sufficient base upon which to form policy for children in families in America?

Mr. ZIGLER. I have great respect for the census data. It has been very useful to me, both as a scholar and as a public servant. However, I do not think that we should rely on it totally. I use, as an example, Vance Packard's book, "Nation of Strangers," which gives quite a different picture from the one presented this morning by the census people. It is not simply a matter of statistical reliability. I do believe that on balance the Census Bureau data are extremely valuable and should be used in policymaking, but my approach is to utilize other data, such as those collected by the Michigan people, in that they often give you a different and equally reliable perspective.

Senator **Stafford**. What is our ability to evaluate existing child-related programs which are operated with Federal funds?

Mr. **Zigler**. Well, the evaluation problem has been a difficult one. Part of the problem is that we have wanted to use measures that were available, rather than develop measures that would actually assist programs in terms of the goals that we establish for them. I think Head Start is a perfect example of this.

Both the Government and the scientific community have been remiss by not doing a better job on the evaluation of these kinds of programs. I think we have often been guilty of using assessment measures which do not adequately evaluate some of the most critical dimensions of programs. I guess the specific answer to your question is: Can we evaluate? Yes. Have we done it very well up to now? No. Our evaluations have not been thoughtful enough. I do think that evaluation is possible; we just have not done it very well, Senator.

Senator **Stafford**. One final question. What is our ability to evaluate the impact of Federal social policy on the family in this country?

Mr. **Zigler**. I think you get into problems of values fairly quickly at which point it becomes very, very difficult. However, there could be an early impact evaluation around non-value-laden phenomena that everyone could agree are in the best interest of children and families. For instance, if very early in the game, we would acknowledge that it is better to have a healthy child than a sick child, then we could make great headway. Then you could move into the gray area in which evaluation of impact would be harder, because it is difficult to arrive at a consensus about whether a given phenomenon is good or bad.

Senator **Stafford**. Thank you very much, Doctor. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **Mondale**. Thank you for a brilliant contribution, Dr. Zigler. We are most appreciative.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Zigler follows:]

OPENING STATEMENT BY DR. EDWARD ZIGLER
ON "AMERICAN FAMILIES: TRENDS AND PRESSURES"
Monday, September 24, 1973

I would like to thank you for the opportunity of testifying before this committee. I, as a long-time admirer of your efforts on behalf of children and youth, feel that your activities are especially critical at this particular juncture in our nation's history of social concern inasmuch as the consensus among astute observers of our social milieu is that we have entered a fallow period in regard to any meaningful new initiatives on behalf of children and families. There seems to be a moratorium on any large and bold efforts to solve the problems plaguing many of our families. But for the fact that a few older programs, some of debatable value, are still in operation, the current attitude toward the crisis of the American family is one of benign neglect. This apathy, which has even overwhelmed once forceful advocates for children and families, can be traced to a number of causes.

In recent years, we have seen the two initiatives most critical for determining the quality of family life fail to become law: the Administration's Welfare Reform Plan and the Child Development Act of 1970. The considerable amount of effort and energy expended on these two pieces of legislation appears to have made people weary and to have given rise to a "what's-the-use?" attitude. In addition, a scholarly, but nevertheless questionable, literature has developed asserting that children's destinies reside in their genes, that admired preschool programs such as Head Start are failures, that variations in the quality of schooling make no real difference, and that a variety of recommended intervention efforts would probably be failures if implemented. This undue pessimism of the early seventies is greatly at odds with the optimism of the sixties, but, nevertheless, has fallen on receptive ears as it can so readily be adopted as the intellectual rationale for the apathy which seems to have infected so many of our decision- and opinion-makers. The hearings which you will conduct here on the American family will serve as an antidote to the nihilism that I have been describing.

Whatever the attitudes or actions of decision-makers may be, the lives of America's families go on. In many instances, these families know exactly to what unreasonable pressures they are being subjected and which problems must be solved if their lives are to become more satisfying. The problem is as equally obvious to the family whose breadwinner works full time and whose salary is still below the poverty level as it is to the more affluent family which, because of inflation, is no longer able to meet its expenses. The working mother who cannot find satisfactory child care arrangements for her children at a fee she can afford to pay knows exactly what her problem is. No further analyses are necessary to illuminate the problems of Indian families whose children are sent to distant boarding schools or of families with severely retarded children whose only recourse is to institutionalize them in settings known for the dehumanization of their residents.

In other instances, many families experience a sense of malaise or a lack of self-actualization due to forces too subtle or too huge for them to fully comprehend. What must be noted here is that the family is but one institution in a complex ecological system consisting of a variety of other institutions. The family is in many ways unique since it lies at the intersect of all of the other institutions in our society and is therefore continually influenced by the policies being pursued by such institutions as government, industry, schools, and the media. When the government concerns itself with the movement of cars from place to place and uproots neighborhoods in the process, this has impact on American families. When industries pursue a policy of moving their personnel every three or four years, or when they convert to a four-day work week, this has impact on American families. When schools decide to treat parents as hostile outsiders or when they determine that day care for school age children is not within their legitimate charge, this affects American families. And when the media inundate our young and our not-so-young with the message that smelling good is the essence of social success and that families should be judged by the amount of things they possess, this, too, affects the American family.

I am in agreement that the American family is the foundation stone of our great nation. However, I am also aware that how well a foundation stone does its job is determined by the soundness of the material of which it is comprised and by the pressures to which it is subjected. I agree with many others who feel that a variety of historical, economic, and social factors as well as current pressures make family life in America more difficult today than it once was. I refer here to the decline of the extended family, to the extremely important phenomenon of the ever-increasing numbers of working mothers, to the increased mobility which has come to characterize the American people, and to those types of urbanization and suburbanization that tend to isolate American families one from another. All of these phenomena have taken away supports that families once relied upon. The wisdom of grandparents, aunts, and uncles is no longer readily available to young families. The children of working mothers are without an essential nurturant figure for many hours of the day. The life of a mobile family is burdened with discontinuity and upheaval. Our communities are likewise in a continuous state of flux, so that families once able to rely on the immediate neighborhood for assistance in child rearing or crisis intervention find that they are no longer able to do so.

If all of this sounds unrealistic, I would invite any among you to ask yourselves if you know the names of the children living in homes three doors away from your own, and if the adults in those homes know the names of your children. Indeed, even within families there has been a demarcation of activities across age lines, so that parents no longer interact with their own children to the degree that they once did. We find more and more that children are socializing one another, to their own detriment and to the detriment of the quality of family life. The materialistic emphasis in our society is such that a father thinks that he is doing more for his family by obtaining a second job than he does by devoting time to his own children. Both long-standing male chauvinism and current excesses of the women's liberation movement have led to a devaluation of the role of the woman as mother and homemaker. We have deluded ourselves into believing that women contribute little to our nation's productivity by remaining within the home, although homemakers and economists alike know better. Unfortunately, such myths are translated into our social policy; note, for example, the feature of HR-1 which required mothers of children as young as three years of age to enter the work force if they were to receive benefits.

What we need now is not more rhetoric or empty platitudes concerning the importance of the American family but, rather, a close examination of families as they exist in their major current forms and a course of action directed at enhancing their viability. This is so obvious that one immediately wonders why no such effort has been systematically and continuously implemented by the federal government. The answer is simple and unfortunate. Unlike other democracies, America has never committed itself to a coherent family policy. We have avoided coming to grips with this problem by taking refuge in the view that the American family is so sacrosanct that the government should not meddle in its affairs. The fact of the matter is that the policies of the government, as well as of all the other institutions in the family's ecology, inject themselves into the affairs of families every day. These effects, as a totality, thereby constitute a national family policy by default, and it is my view that these effects are as often destructive as they are constructive to healthy family functioning.

Families are the constituencies of the elected members of both the executive and legislative branches of our government and, therefore, there is an attitude that families are everybody's business. However, in social policy making, when an institution is everybody's business, it becomes essentially nobody's business. Who in government speaks for families and advocates in their behalf on the basis of sound analysis? The one agency that could play such a leadership role in developing an explicit family policy is the Office of Child Development, providing that its mandate were enlarged and that it were to become both in name and in mission the Office of Child and Family Development. When I speak to you of a coherent social policy, I am not raising the spectre of family policies found in certain nations where authoritarian governments massively invade the everyday lives of the nation's families. There is no one at any point on our nation's political spectrum more opposed than I to this sort of governmental intrusion. When I speak of a family policy, I am speaking of a phenomenon not only in keeping with the American ethos, but with the best values and traditions of that ethos.

The construction of a family social policy at the national level would have three facets. First, it would involve identifying what major problems interfere with sound family functioning and determining what solutions to these problems are available, assessing the cost effectiveness of the various solutions that are suggested, and assigning priorities to the specific policies to be implemented. Secondly, a family policy would entail the continuous analyses of the impact of other governmental policies for their effects on family life, so that any cost benefit analysis of these policies would include in its equations the factor of whether the policy in question helps or hurts American families. Finally, a national family policy would make use of the regulating, taxation, research, and moral powers of the federal government in order to persuade other institutions to adopt policies conducive to healthy family life. Again, I wish to avoid the vision of the federal government acting as Big Brother. What I have in mind with respect to this third facet are such possible activities as providing tax credits to industries that provide day care, government-sponsored research to examine the effects of the four-day work week on family life or the value to both industry and families of tailoring the length of the work day to coincide with the length of the school day, and informational and technical assistance to schools willing to do more to strengthen family life.

I am aware that formal family policy construction will come slowly to America and I am certainly not here to present any highly-polished, final product. Rather, it is the purpose of my testimony to make this committee, and through it, perhaps, the nation, aware that we have no such policy and that we are operating instead with the aforementioned family policy by default. Your hearings will be successful if they do indeed produce an awareness on the part of the American people that the federal establishment seems to be less concerned with formulating a well-articulated family policy than with formulating an agricultural policy or a military policy. Then, at least, a dialogue could commence over exactly what role the American people would like to have the government pursue in regard to issues that affect how well the family functions.

There has, of course, never been a dearth of general suggestions as to what might be done to improve the lives of children and their families. Professionals, lay people, and even federal bureaucrats regularly convene to make policy recommendations. Within the past five years or so, we have all had access to the deliberations and recommendations of the Presidential Task Force of 1967, chaired by J. McVicker Hunt, the Goreham Committee of 1967 which brought together persons from federal agencies dealing with children, the Joint Commission of Mental Health of Children of 1969, and the White House Conference on Children of 1970. The Office of Child Development will soon have available the report of the Advisory Committee on Child Development which was commissioned by OCD through the National Academy of Sciences and chaired by Harold Stevenson. The recommendations made in these various reports, though well thought out, have never received adequate response from either the executive or the legislative branches. One reason for the minimal impact of past reports is that there is something of the laundry list about them, with everything and anything that might help families included. If each and every recommendation had been acted upon positively, America's families would indeed be experiencing a modern utopia. Unfortunately, it is much easier to create paper utopias at conferences than it is to get a single piece of legislation with some minimal, but nonetheless obvious, benefits for families enacted into law. The fact of the matter is that our committees and commissions do not deal sufficiently with the economic and political feasibility of the many recommendations with which they present us. Furthermore, the producers of the plethora of recommendations that we have all examined are not sufficiently aware of the fact that social policy construction essentially involves establishing priorities and selecting among alternatives. This is, of course, not to belittle the efforts to which I have been alluding. As a body of work, this collection of recommendations comprises a conscience which the nation can employ when dealing with the problems of children and their families. Furthermore, it represents the raw materials that any administration or legislative body can utilize in the construction of a coherent national family policy.

Perhaps as a result of my two years of service in Washington, I am now so aware of economic and political realities that I cannot come before you to champion the frequently heard recommendations for improving family life, such as a guaranteed annual income of $6,000 for a family of four, and universal developmental day care available free to every family in America. If such phenomena ever become realities, it will probably be generations hence and therefore of little use to American families who need help now. I have much more modest aspirations for the actions that could be taken by this committee. I cannot help but think of an incident that occurred when, as Director of the Office of Child Development, I was informing an audience of the high quality of day care that was to be provided in the President's Welfare Reform Plan. A member of that audience asked why, if OCD was so concerned about the quality of day care, it was not doing more to improve the quality of day care already being provided through Title IV of the Social Security Act. Unfortunately, I had no very satisfying answer to this query and therefore did little more than waffle in the best, or probably worst, bureaucratic tradition. The point of this story is that, while this may not be the time for large new initiatives, it is certainly time for decision-makers to examine extant social policies and practices important to families so that we might at least correct those policies which are, at one extreme, thoughtless and uneconomical, and, at the other, involve the government as a co-conspirator in the abuse of children. It also behooves us to examine existing social policies for those features which are so valuable as to demand their greater implementation.

In dealing with current problems of the American family, certainly a government responsive to family needs must come to grips with the issue of day care for America's working mothers. This is a problem of immense proportions and one for which a solution is not attainable overnight. Its magnitude and difficulty of solution are so great that it appears more politic to ignore it than to engage in efforts that would be helpful to a relatively small percentage of families needing day care. What the nation really needs is a 20-year plan for a child care system that would involve realistic increments in public and private funding as the development of facilities and personnel warrants. Good quality day care was given the number one priority at the last White House Conference on Children. In a needs assessment carried out to develop a state plan for children in Texas, 60% of those queried spontaneously listed day care for their children as their most pressing need. While I think that the real solution of the day care problem can only come from careful long-term planning, there are several things that can be done immediately to improve the day care situation in our nation.

Approximately a billion dollars was spent in the last fiscal year by the federal government for child care, with the bulk of this money going to two programs: Head Start, administered by OCD, and the Title IV day care program, administered by the Community Services Agency within SRS. It should be noted that approximately one-third of the Head Start monies is being spent for day care for working mothers. There has been no real coordination between these two sizeable programs, and the rules, regulations, and philosophy of each of the two programs are at odds with those of the other. Were these two programs combined and operated by a single agency, some order as well as new economies could be brought to the child care effort which the federal government is already funding. Indeed, such a combined program would finally give the nation at least an embryonic national child care system providing parents with a variety of child care services including the all-important service of day care for working mothers. Such a unified system could be held responsible for ensuring the quality of child care that is necessary if children are not to be harmed by programs mounted and funded by the federal government. I think that Head Start has been sensitive to the quality issue while the Title IV program has not.

When we think of day care, we often think of centers serving 30 or more children. This accounts for only a small percentage of the day care funded through Title IV. A much larger percentage of these funds is paid by local welfare agencies to unlicensed family day care homes which typically serve six or fewer children. Some of these homes are good, but others are ghastly and, thus, we are witnessing federal funds being spent to place children in circumstances detrimental to their development. If combining the Title IV and Head Start programs into an organized and unified child care system strikes you as a too demanding task, then I would suggest to the Committee members that they at least direct their attention to the problem of implementing and enforcing some minimum standards for every kind of day care that is subsidized by federal funds. Such a set of enforceable and realistic standards was developed under my direction at OCD and, after a close analysis by others within HEW, was approved by the former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, The Honorable Elliot Richardson. These standards were then sent to the Office of Management and Budget over a year ago and, to the best of my knowledge, have never again surfaced. Until such standards are promulgated and enforced, children will continue to experience the horrors documented in the Council of Jewish Women's report, Windows on Day Care. Even within the present framework, day care can be improved and made more available. Family day care can be of good quality and should continue over the years to be an important component of the total day care picture. It is necessary to provide day care mothers with training and general support by those equipped to give it. We have available to us common-sensical and practical models of how to do this. One good example of this is the Pacific Oaks model in which family day care homes are tied into a network with a central training and technical support facility.

The present day care picture also suffers from a serious lopsidedness in which concern is almost totally limited to the preschool-age child. The fact of the matter is that two-thirds of the children in this nation who require day care are of school age and need adult supervision before and after school and during vacations. Because of our slowness in developing day care models for school-age children and inducing schools and other institutions to employ such models, we are now witnessing the national tragedy of over a million latch-key children,cared for by no one, with probably an equal number being cared for by siblings who are themselves too young to assume such responsibilities. The human cost of this situation to families and to the nation as a whole is great indeed. While there is an escalating concern over rising juvenile delinquency figures, few have forcefully pointed out the relationship between the growing phenomenon of young children socializing one another and the rise of delinquency. If this nation is interested in preventing the delinquency rather than punishing it, a major component of such an attempt would be an expanded school-age day care program.

Another child care problem that can and should be dealt with immediately is that of the need for personnel. Our nation simply does not have an adequate cadre of appropriately trained individuals to care for even the present number of children in our child care systems. The development of such a cadre should have top priority and should consist in large part of personnel whose salaries can be met without making day care costs astronomical. OCD moved forcefully into this area by creating a new child care profession in America, namely, the Child Development Associate. The national implementation of the Child Development Associate concept is now in the hands of a consortium consisting of major early childhood education associations and associations representing a variety of consumer and child advocacy groups. A key feature of this new thrust is that accreditation and certification would occur through demonstrated competency rather than on completion of academic programs. However, if this program is ever to produce child care workers in sufficient quantity, it will require the infusion of some new federal money, probably in the neighborhood of 10 to 20 million dollars. This is a relatively small amount of money when one thinks of the annual billion dollars being spent, much of which is buying poor day care primarily because well-trained people who can be employed at a reasonable cost are simply not available. While funding to the CDA program has, to my knowledge, been a feature of two bills, neither have been passed into law.

Let me now turn my attention to other problems facing children and families that are of such magnitude that they constitute a national disgrace. The foster care system in this nation is in need of a major overhaul. Often, the failure of this system can be traced to lack of money. In other instances, the problem rests on our commitment to questionable procedures and our failure to utilize the know-how readily at our disposal. We find children taken from their homes because no homemaker services were available to aid the family through relatively short periods of crisis or stress. Such mother's helpers are readily available in nations such as Sweden and England, and it may be noted that this service is 13 times more available in England than it is in the United States. When children are placed into the foster care system, it is not unusual for them to be lost in its maze, being transferred from social worker to social worker, from family to family, without ever experiencing the stability, affection, and sense of belonging so necessary for normal development. In many cases, foster children are never returned to their biological families and, in view of the cost to the state of raising a child to maturity, estimated to be between $40,000 and $60,000, one might ask why such children are not permitted to be adopted by families who can provide them with the emotional environment they so badly need. The answer resides in controversial policies of our state social welfare agencies. For instance, in New York, a foster child cannot be placed for adoption if the biological parents do so much as send one post card per year to the child.

What is tragic about this state of affairs is that much of it can be avoided. I would refer you to a demonstration project funded by OCD's Children's Bureau and conducted in Nashville, Tennessee. This project, involving comprehensive emergency services for children, is now beginning its third year. As a result of its activities, whereas 322 children were placed in children's institutions in 1969, only 22 had to be so placed in 1972. In 1969, almost 200 of these children were less than six years of age. During the past six months of this program, not a single child under six was institutionalized. The Nashville program is an excellent one and there is no reason that it cannot be implemented in every community in America.

This nation must do all it can to keep children out of institutions. It has become all too apparent that the typical large institution, be it a state hospital for the emotionally disturbed, a school for delinquent boys, or a state school for the retarded, is destructive to the lives of children and a source of despair for these children's families. This situation was made abundantly clear in the impressive documentary entitled, "This Child Is Labeled X." While we should do all we can to avoid institutionalizing children and to remove from institutions children who do not belong there, some children absolutely require institutionalization.

Given my own 15 years of professional activity in this field, I am particularly concerned with the lives of institutionalized retarded children. The Willowbrooks, the Rosewoods, the state schools of Alabama, are all too representative of what our institutionalized retarded children experience. This committee is to be commended for the light it has shed and the action it has taken regarding the problem of parental abuse of children. However, if our nation is concerned about child abuse, it must take immediate action on the legalized abuse of children in our state institutions. These institutions invariably receive federal funds which makes the national government a co-conspirator in the abuse to which these children are subjected. A national effort involving the cooperation of the federal and state governments should be immediately begun to correct the national disgrace of our treatment of institutionalized children. My own research as well as the experience of the Scandinavian countries indicates that humane institutionalization constructive to the child's development is possible if we would simply commit ourselves to such a policy. Given the numbers involved, I would give first priority to the problem of institutionalized retarded children.

Finally, I would propose a much expanded effort related to education for parenthood. A small program has already been initiated by OCD and the Office of Education which makes available to schools and youth organizations model courses in parenthood prepared for an adolescent audience. An important feature of this program is that it allows adolescents to work with younger children in Head Start and day care centers as part of the curriculum. We must convince schools and other institutions that they must provide increased support for family life. Teaching young people about the most important role they will ever assume, namely, parenthood, is one such effort. Others should also be undertaken. Schools could become involved with families long before children reach school age. They can provide needed information to mothers beginning with pregnancy and become a meeting center in which mothers and fathers can learn from one another by exchanging knowledge concerning cognitive and emotional development that can be most helpful to young parents in their child rearing tasks. Model programs of this type are already underway in the Brookline, Massachusetts, and Little Rock, Arkansas, school systems. Child support centers need not be confined to schools; a number of effective non-school models are also available needing only greater implementation. I am thinking here especially of the Parent and Child Centers administered by the Office of Child Development and certain more experimental programs being conducted at the University of Florida, University of Illinois, and Syracuse University. I also see great promise in the experimental Child and Family Resource Program recently initiated by the Office of Child Development. This program has created centers which provide a wide array of needed services to children and their families.

Let me conclude by saying that it is my conviction that we can spend the money that we already have at our disposal more effectively. We certainly know how to do much more than we are presently doing. Frequently, relatively small expenditures will result in the correction of many practices which currently are detrimental to family life. Perhaps we cannot reasonably expect at this point major new commitments, but we can and should demand the rejection of apathy and negativism and expect a renewed commitment to the proposition that families are indeed important and that it is the federal government's role to reduce the stresses and to meet the problems confronting families. Such a renewed commitment would at least constitute a first step in developing a real family policy for America.

Senator MONDALE. The next witness is James O'Toole, assistant professor of management, University of Southern California, and Chairman of the Special Task Force to the Secretary of HEW on "Work in America." We are very pleased to have you with us this morning.

STATEMENT OF DR. JAMES O'TOOLE, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF MANAGEMENT, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Mr. O'TOOLE. I appreciate being invited.

This morning I should like to make a few brief remarks that are a distillation of the report on "Work in America" and this last summer's Aspen workshops on "Education, Work, and the Quality of Life." For the record, I would like to submit documents from these two projects as extensions of my remarks.

I shall confine my comments here to some of the national labor and welfare policies with which you are concerned, and particularly to how these policies relate to family life in America. My testimony is in three parts. First, I shall present some evidence about what work means to the life of an individual. Specifically, I will focus on the effects on family structure of either the lack of work or of work that offers insufficient financial, social, or personal benefits.

Second, I shall present an illustrative framework with which one might view the impact on the entire generational spectrum of Americans of the way we allocate work opportunities. Finally, I shall present an argument for a reformulation of national work and welfare policies in order to strengthen family ties among the poor.

I. WORK AND FAMILY STABILITY

"Work" is a word that is overworked by politicians, news commentators, educators, clergy, and parents. That we use it indiscriminately and incorrectly in common speech is of little consequence to the subcommittee, but that we define work narrowly and carelessly in the creation of Federal policies and programs should be of prime importance to these investigative hearings.

In almost all Federal programs, work is equated with paid employment. Using housework as an example, we can see the harmful social, economic, and psychological consequences of the current definition. A housewife by this definition does not work. But ironically, if her services are replaced by a housekeeper, a cook, or a babysitter, these replacements are defined as workers because their salaries contribute to the gross national product.

It is clearly an inconsistency to say that a woman who cares for her own children is not working, but if she takes a job looking after the children of another woman, she is working. The economic consequences for mothers and their children of this logical inconsistency are seen in the eligibility requirements for Federal programs in welfare, child care, and social security, to name only a significant few.

In social and psychological terms, this equation of work and money has produced a synonymity of "pay" and "worth." Accordingly, work that is not paid is not considered to be as valuable as paid work. One wonders what the effects of this denigration of unpaid work are on the current, apparent unwillingness of some mothers and fathers to devote time to the proper care and upbringing of their children. As a society, we may have dangerously downgraded the most important work a human can perform.

For the sake of our children—and the future of our society—an alternative definition of work might, therefore, serve as a better guide to policymakers in the Congress and in Federal agencies. The Work in America Task Force suggested that, for official purposes, work should be considered as "any activity that produces something of value for other people." This is more than a semantic quibble; we shall see the operative importance of a redefinition of work when we come to our discussion of welfare policies.

Now that I have offered that it is useful to view work as an activity that produces something of value for other people, I would like to call attention to the things that work produces for the worker himself. The first personal function of work is economic. We work to provide food, clothing, and shelter. There are also several less obvious psychological purposes or functions of work:

(1) Work contributes to self-esteem—through the mastery of a task, one builds a sense of pride in one's self. The job tells the worker that he has something of value to contribute to society. The workplace, then, is the major focus of personal evaluation.

(2) Work is also the most significant source of personal identity; we identify who we are through our jobs. We say, "I am a college professor" or "I am a housewife" when someone asks, "Who are you?" A consequence of this work-connected identification is that welfare recipients and the retired become nobodies.

(3) Work is a prime way for individuals to impose order, control, or structure on their world. From this perspective, we see that the opposite of work is not free time or leisure; it is being victimized by disorder or chaos.

In short, work offers the individual self-sufficiency, status, identity, self-esteem, and a sense of order and meaning. Consequently, if the opportunity to work is absent, or if the nature of work is not sufficiently rewarding, severe repercussions are likely to be experienced by the individual worker and his or her family. To document this relationship, I should like to refer to findings from several major studies of family life and employment:

(1) Loss of work has been found to produce chronic disorganization in the lives of parents and children. Among the long term unemployed, attitudes toward the future and toward the home and community, have been shown to deteriorate. Family life loses its meaning and vitality for these individuals.

(2) The children of long term unemployed and marginally employed workers uniformly show poorer school grades.

(3) Despite the popular notion that unemployed people fill their free time with intensified sexual activities, studies show that the undermined egos of former breadwinners lead to diminished libidos.

(4) The physical and mental health of the unemployed tends to deteriorate. For example, there is a clear correlation between unemployment and the onset of schizophrenia.

(5) There is a demonstrable relationship between a family breadwinner's work experience and family stability. Sociologist Frank Furstenberg reviewed 16 separate studies of work experience for the Work

in America project and concluded that "economic uncertainty brought on by unemployment and marginal employment is a principal reason why family relations deteriorate."

(6) Sociologists have attributed the high rate of illegitimacy among poor people to the occupational uncertainty of men. Lee Rainwater found expectant mothers rejecting marriage if their sexual partners were unemployed or had poor occupational prospects.

(7) Manpower economist Michael Piore has developed a dual labor market theory that helps to explain the relationship between the nature of employment and the ability to sustain a nuclear family. He describes a secondary labor market that is distinguished by low wages, poor working conditions, considerable variability in employment, little security, harsh and arbitary discipline, and little opportunity for upward mobility. Poor people are drawn to this market because they do not have the social or skill characteristics required for employment in the primary market. What is significant for these hearings is that Piore has shown that the secondary market does not meet the social and economic requirements of those who wish to establish a stable family.

(8) Anthropologist Elliot Liebow has found a relationship between the frequency and nature of employment of men on the one hand, and their willingness to form stable, nuclear families with the mothers of their children, on the other. Liebow's landmark research among ghetto dwellers in the District of Columbia offers the most poignant evidence we have of the correlation between mother-headed families and the underemployed and unemployment of street-corner men.

(9) My research in Watts in Los Angeles and among the nonwhite population of Cape Town, South Africa, reveals a striking similarity in family structure in these two geographically distant communities. In both Watts and Cape Town, there is a high percentage of mother-centered families found among the poorest people. In both communities, mother-centered families are more frequent when the father is chronically unemployed, employed irregularly, or employed in a job that will not permit him the social and economic dignity and security needed to assume the breadwinner's role in his family.

(10) Divorce and separation rates for the poor are not greatly different from the rates for the middle class. Significantly, however, the remarriage rate among the poor is considerably lower than among the middle class. Poor women, once they have been the victims of an unsatisfactory marital experience, tend to be unwilling to repeat the experience with another high-risk mate. For this reason, and not looser morals, the statistics for mother-headed households are higher among the poor. Unemployed or underemployed men simply are not seen as good remarriage material.

In summary, the evidence is overwhelming that unemployment and underemployment among breadwinners is the primary factor leading to continued marital instability among the poor. The absence of work, or work that fails to fulfill the function of economic security, self-esteem, identity, and a sense of mastery over the chaos of one's environment, will not provide the stable basis required to build a lasting familial relationship.

II. ACCESS TO WORK

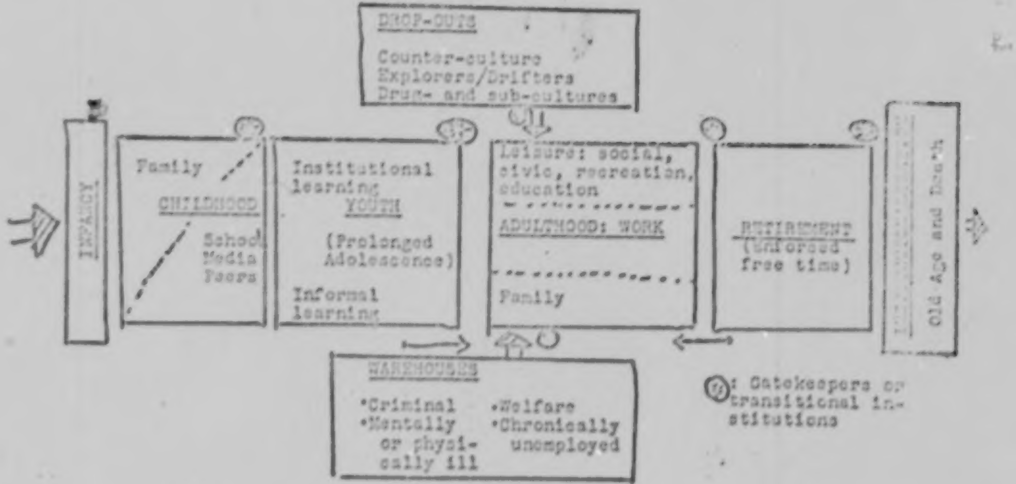
Although the work and family problems of the disadvantaged deserve the lion's share of our attention because these problems are so terribly damaging to human development, it is still worth a moment to analyze the way we allocate access to work across our entire population—if only to put the problems of the poor in sharper focus. This not terribly sophisticated perspective, illustrated on the chart I have posted, serves to point up differences in sex, race, and generational access to work and helps us to identify some of the possible effects these differences might have on family life. In looking at the chart, we should keep in mind that most of the major pieces of Federal social legislation either are responsible for the divisions and problems that we find here, or they were designed to support existing divisions.

The chart helps us to visualize the canonical path that begins with an infancy of 2 or 3 years, during which the family is the controlling presence. As in traditional societies, the family is the basic unit which embraces living, working, and learning.

[The chart referred to follows:]

SEGMENTATION OF LIFE

SEPARATION OF GENERATIONS


DROP-OUTS
Counter-culture
Explorers/Drifters
Drug- and sub-cultures
INFANCY
Family
CHILDHOOD
School
Media
Peers
Institutional learning
YOUTH
(Prolonged Adolescence)
Informal learning
Leisure: social, civic, recreation, education
ADULTHOOD: WORK
Family
RETIREMENT
(Enforced free time)
Old Age and Death
WAREHOUSES
•Criminal
•Mentally or physically ill
•Welfare
•Chronically unemployed
: Gatekeepers or transitional institutions

MAINTENANCE PATH:

"Choice" of career → Training → Working → Retirement

(...Childhood....Youth...Adult life..........Aged...)

...A COPY—PLEASE SHOOT AND

Mr. O'Toole. There follows a period of childhood, when peer groups, the school, and especially recently, the various media compete in influence with the family. During the period of youth—which is more and more being prolonged—it is the institution of education that becomes a controlling presence; today, the structure of our society prescribes that youth means schooling, mostly formal. Here too, but growing less common, may be located some first passes at trial employment.

Freed from the educational institution, the new adult embarks abruptly on his career. His work occupies most of his time, and it is sharply set off from his two other prime concerns: leisure (the whole nexus of entertainment, social and civic and recreational activities, and whatever amount of continuing education he decides to engage in) and, most importantly, family.

And at the end of his working life—which is more and more being shortened—the adult enters a period of retirement. Free time, either voluntary, enforced, or some combination of the two, becomes the key motif. His dependence increases as he becomes older, and finally he may be placed in an institution at the approach of death.

Viewed in this manner, life becomes a kind of maintenance path along which we are expected to slide irreversibly.

For which groups is society not prepared to ease the passage along the linear progression? An obvious group—suggested by the fact that we use the masculine pronoun when we describe the canonical path—is women. In spite of our equalitarian motives, girls and boys do not receive the same kind of socialization and education. Nor, perhaps, should they. Nevertheless, girls' expectations of life are different because they are taught to stake different claims on life. Sex stereotypes and the role which they play in encouraging widely divergent life choices have only recently begun to be understood. On the whole, it is still very much the case that the careers which girls are supposed to pursue are meant to be secondary to the careers that men pursue. John will grow up to be a lawyer, Jill his secretary.

And the labors in the home and with their children that adult women engage in are not "really" work, because they are not rewarded financially, as I have said. And a lifetime of housework does not provide eligibility for retirement.

Disadvantaged minorities, too, are not well served by the canonical path. They receive inferior educations, and they experience difficulty in entering and staying in the work world. At the end, they often find themselves without adequate retirement funds. Other outgroups—the insane, the chronically ill, the involuntarily unemployed—spend their lives in warehouses designed to contain them. Adulthood, for them, is not a period of earning which follows education. It is not a period in which work supports family and leisure activities.

What this chart helps us to do, then, is to identify certain problems associated (a) with the ways we divide the time of our lives, (b) with the ways we provide access to institutions like work and the family that validate our legitimacy as contributing members of society and (c) with the ways our national programs and policies support the current structure. Let us further examine four of the problems.

1. THE SEGMENTATION OF LIVES

As I have said, most working Americans follow a monolithic path through life in which education is synonymous with youth, work with adulthood, and retirement with old age. Several problems result from dividing life into these discrete, age-graded functions:

Work, "the badge of adulthood," is the only fully legitimate activity of maturity. There is "something wrong" with someone who is not working: the adult nonworker is considered to have and to be a social problem. Women who take care of their children, the unemployed and the underemployed, the dropout, the elderly—none have full "working identities." They suffer both economically and psychologically from their second-class status, and so are excluded from some of society's rewards.

If one were to place a transparent overlay on our chart that listed the major Federal programs and the age groups they were designed to serve, we would find that the programs encouraged this segmentation of lives and did little to help the groups excluded from the mainstream. For example, almost all of our educational expenditures go to the age group between 6 and 26. And our approach to the excluded is to build warehouses—jails, mental institutions, youth and age ghettos—rather than to integrate people into the community through providing them wih jobs.

The second point is that family activities are segregated from other activities. In the middle years of life, particularly, the worker is separated from his family for many hours during the day. Often, workers must choose between their jobs and their families—and many men (and, now increasingly, many women) choose to sacrifice their families for their jobs. Indeed, it is not overstating the case to say that many children today are raised by one parent only—during the crucial stages of growing up, the fathers of these children are too occupied with career matters to take an active or significant role in their upbringing.

2. THE SEGREGATION OF GENERATIONS

Education, the activity of youth, occurs at schools, which become youth ghettos. Work, the activity of adulthood, is performed in similarly age-segregated institutions. Retirement, the activity of the aged, occurs increasingly in "leisure communities" cut off from the rest of the world, both spiritually and physically. As a result the segregation of generations becomes a corollary to the segmentation of lives.

Young people seldom, if ever, see adults at work. As James Coleman and Urie Bronfenbrenner have noted, this leaves youth improperly socialized to the work world and prolongs their adolescence. Such problems as campus unrest and drug cultures may result from this age segregation.

Cut off from older generations, from aspects of the essential guides of experience, tradition, and history, young people face a special difficulty in coping with important value questions in our rapidly changing society.

3. ACCESS TO WORK

One of the clearest social problems in the society is the security of jobs due to the national choice of low inflation over low unemployment. But this scarcity does not run evenly across the demographic groups of society; indeed, for middle-aged white males the problem is minimal. To keep the problem at bay for this group, we have kept young people out of the labor market until they are older and retired workers at an earlier age. To create employment for middle-aged women in answer to recent demands, we have increasingly excluded the young, the old, and minority men from the work force.

4. INSTITUTIONAL FLEXIBILITY

Most jobs are organized in an authoritarian fashion built upon the ethic of conformity and obedience learned in the schools. They follow a model of set and simplified tasks, rigid schedules, and tight discipline and control. This has significant consequences for family life. Shift work, for example, has been shown to have a devastating effect on marital stability. More important, perhaps, research shows that adults who work in authoritarian settings impart a sense of inadequacy to their children. These children tend to adapt poorly to change and to have trouble succeeding in school.

Most of us work from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. for 50 weeks a year. These forms apparently suit many individuals. Increasingly, however, workers—particularly the young—are demanding greater flexibility on their jobs: in scheduling, in educational opportunity, in clothing, in personal autonomy and in job design. From the point of view of family life, it has been suggested that we need more half-time jobs so that mothers and fathers can each have a paying job and can each spend half a day with their children.

Alternatively, if one parent wishes to devote himself or herself full time to child care while the other works, half-time jobs will offer the opportunity for work during school hours when the child grows up.

I have offered here only a partial catalog of problems related to family and working life. As a society, we can organize the blocks of time on the chart in any way we see fit. What appear to be natural divisions are actually the artifacts of one particular society. For example, the length of adolescence is as arbitrary as what we eat for breakfast. It comes as a surprise to many Americans that adolescence does not exist in many cultures. But I assure you that that is as true as the fact that not all peoples eat eggs and bacon for breakfast.

But that we can change these blocks of time around at will does not argue that we should. Indeed, great questions of personal values and individual freedom are involved in meeting any of the problems that I have outlined.

Given the myriad alternatives before us, and the lack of consensus in favor of any one alternative, I would argue that we should concentrate our national efforts on eliminating the gravest injustices of our society in this area, rather than scattering our resources and energies on problems that are real, but cause little pain and suffering. For this reason, I offer you only one policy suggestion: you should write legislation that would provide work for those who want it.

III. A FEDERAL WORK AND WELFARE STRATEGY

The conclusions of "Work in America" on the question of welfare illustrate—if nothing else—the unrequited role of the intellectual in national policymaking. Almost every researcher who has studied the problem of family disorganization in the ghetto has come to the same conclusion: The causal factor is most probably the lower class father's inability to get and to hold the kind of employment needed for a stable family life. The solution to the "welfare mess" then is to provide good, steady jobs in order that the men who are the fathers of welfare children can have the same marriage and remarriage opportunities as middle-class men, and so that poor women can have the same kind of reduced economic risks in marrying and remarrying as middle-class women have.

Although many of these studies have been prepared specifically for our national leaders, welfare proposals and programs still ignore the relationship between the underemployment and the unemployment rates of ghetto men on one hand, and the numbers of women and children on welfare on the other. Even the latest welfare proposals unfortunately offer only punitive measures designed to force welfare mothers (not the fathers of welfare children) to work. This approach contradicts much of what we know about work and welfare: (1) We don't have to force people to work—almost all people will choose to work because of its economic, social, and psychological rewards; (2) welfare mothers are already working; they are taking care of their children; (3) to forcibly remove the mother from a home where the father is already absent is to invite further costs to society in delinquency, crime, drug abuse, and remedial education; and (4) the lower class ethic calls for the man to support his wife and children, and any other arrangement is cause for the disintegration of the family bond. I feel it necessary to add that this lower-class ethic is quite different from what has recently become middle-class ethic.

Senator **Mondale**. May we stop right there. The theories you point out regarding our welfare program are quite contrary to the theory that the poor are lazy, and you have to force them to work. What you are saying is that you think the work ethic among the poor is quite the contrary, they want to work. They want the status and the income that comes with a decent job. How do you prove that case?

Mr. **O'Toole**. I would not use the term "the work ethic." I would say the functions of work and the things that work provides in the life of the individual that I outlined at the beginning of my address are the same for all people, regardless of class, and that all people need those rewards of work. It has little to do with what we call the Protestant ethic at all. It has to do with something that is run through human nature since we have been able to record the way people have acted—people have always worked. If one extends one's definition of what work is, we find that work is a necessity of life, and that if people have the opportunity to work, they will take it.

There is very little evidence, if any, of what economists call withdrawal from work. When people are given the opportunity to work, they tend to work. Work withdrawal, which is the major fear in the administration's H.R. 1 proposal, is something of which we have little if no evidence.

Senator MONDALE. The rhetoric always seems to be that we want to find that lazy but able adult male who prefers welfare to work. That is the whole point, is it not?

Mr. O'TOOLE. Depending upon which form of welfare one is talking about, 75 to 95 percent of those people on welfare are mothers and their children. They are not able-bodied men. The able-bodied men are not receiving the welfare benefits. There are figures available at HEW, and ones not quoted often unfortunately, that in given areas where they have been able to compute the number of people who are on welfare, they find that the number goes down when unemployment in that same community goes down. There is a direct relationship between the number of people on welfare and employment opportunities.

I will conclude my remarks now, because it follows from this.

Because of these facts, "Work in America" called for increased employment opportunities for the fathers of children who are on welfare (men who probably are not on the welfare rolls themselves) as the long-range solution to the "welfare mess." In effect, we offered an indirect, macroeconomic solution instead of a direct, transfer payment solution contingent upon mothers taking jobs in the secondary labor market.

In conclusion, I urge this subcommittee to create a Federal work and welfare strategy that will aim at creating jobs for all who want to work. There is plenty of work that needs to be done in our Nation; we need only create the jobs to do it.

In "Work in America" we suggested that the jobs can be created in the private sector, that they can be good jobs, and that anti-inflationary measures can be taken at the same time.

The existence of a job will be sufficient in most cases to get people to work; the importance of work to life obviates the need for compulsion. There will remain some for whom the availability of work is not enough; they will need training. Again, motivation, not coercion, should be sufficient to bring people into training programs.

Finally, there will remain those who cannot work for physical reasons, and those who choose to care for their young instead of taking jobs, and these people will require maintenance assistance. This three-pronged Federal work strategy establishes the primacy of employment policies and leaves income maintenance as a truly residual category—a fallback for family support.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for a brilliant presentation. How does your proposal, which is directed primarily to the private employment sector, plan to get these jobs you are talking about?

Mr. O'TOOLE. We can take a couple of areas which we can agree that there is a national need. For example, in rebuilding our cities or fighting pollution, instead of having a WPA in which the Government goes out and actually accomplishes these things, we can let contracts to private firms and private contractors to produce public goods. Using public money, we can have the private sector produce public goods.

What we did with the WPA was to use public money to have the public sector produce public goods. These jobs, of course, today have the taint of being leaf raking, because they are in the public sector.

If we decide to let contracts to the private sector to do this, it will do away with this unnecessary denigration of the form of the jobs.

What we do know about private sector employment is that on the whole it tends to provide a lot more of the important functions of work than some public sector work does. For example, one can have such a thing as profit sharing under a private employment, where one does not have it under public employment. So you can get, in effect, the best of two worlds.

You can satisfy the need for employment for the poor on one hand, and on the other hand, one can stimulate the private sector and take away some of the ideological problems that people have about leaf-raking, WPA-type projects.

Senator MONDALE. How much does it cost?

Mr. O'TOOLE. It depends on how far you want to go.

Senator MONDALE. Well, let us do it. How much does that cost?

Mr. O'TOOLE. I would argue, Senator, that one can do it without increasing present Federal expenditures, if one were to reallocate our current expenditures. For example, we spend a lot of money in certain areas that are highly capital intensive, rather than labor intensive. Aerospace is clearly one of these.

Senator MONDALE. How much do we have to reorder, then we can decide where it is coming from? What is the bill, in your opinion?

Mr. O'TOOLE. It is very difficult to say what it would be exactly.

Senator MONDALE. $10 billion?

Mr. O'TOOLE. I would say with an expenditure of from $10 to $20 billion one could make a significant dent in the entire problem. Of course what you are getting is a trade-off with other current Federal programs. As you do this, you are cutting back on welfare expenditures too, and a lot of other compensatory and remedial type programs that exist in HEW. A lot of the health money that is currently spent would also not have to be spent.

Senator MONDALE. Have you made an analysis or has an analysis been made of how this would work out?

Mr. O'TOOLE. There is a very preliminary sketch of it in chapter 6 of "Work in America" that I am submitting for the record, but it needs a lot of work. The main problem with it is that to really feel the impact of this program, that is to get to the point where I could appear in front of your subcommittee and say, "Senator, we no longer have a problem of mother-centered families in the ghetto, that underemeployment and unemployment have disappeared among our black population," might take as long as a generation.

Our problem is that we have opted for short-range solutions to problems and these have failed. Often we have invested a lot of money for a couple of years, and when nothing happened, we have thrown up our hands and said, "Look, it was a lousy program, a lousy idea and there is no way that one can deal with this problem." But the problems in the ghetto, the problems of unemployment, are the product of over 100 years of adverse social conditions. The problems have been ingrained for generation upon generation. To expect in 2 years or 3 years that providing some jobs or putting more money into these areas will change the attitudes and values and the structure of the homelife is expecting much too much. But if we can take a longer range perspective on this, the sketchy evidence that we have, based upon what has happened in other groups in society, based upon what has happened to, for example, middle-class black people in this society who have made tremendous strides, leads us to believe that in the long range we can succeed. But if we view the problem in the short range, we can provide countless small measures and at the end of 20 years we will still have nothing.

In this I have confidence, and the people who worked on the "Work in America" reported had confidence, that a full employment kind of solution can get us somewhere in the long run, and we can really have a significant impact upon the problem.

Senator **Mondale**. Thank you very much. Senator Stafford.

Senator **Stafford**. Mr. Chairman, I want to join you in thanking Dr. O'Toole for being here today. I really have just one question, and that is: were we better off 200 years ago when everybody had to work from dawn to dusk, just to stay alive, and there was not any time to worry about whether there was a job, and what we are going to do with our leisure time?

Mr. **O'Toole**. In some ways we were better off, in that our expectations were the same as what our lives offered us, that the results of our lives met our expectations, and that we did not question ourselves and question the meaning of our lives. We did not have a value crisis as we have in society today.

On the other hand, when people were working from dawn to dusk, if we look at the longevity at that time and infant mortality and several other indicators, we can see that things were not so terribly pleasant. It is a tough trade off. Progress has some real costs involved in it. But I think we probably did the right thing to industrialize and to create the problems that we have now. But now it means that we have to address ourselves to these new problems. But I do not think that the alternative is dawn-to-dusk work in sweatshops.

We might be able to make work more humane and make work for all of us who want to work.

Senator **Stafford**. Thank you very much.

Senator **Mondale**. Thank you for a great contribution. We are most appreciative of it.

[The material submitted by Dr. O'Toole appears as Item C in the Appendix.]

Senator **Mondale**. Our final witness today is Dr. Robert Coles, psychiatrist, Harvard University, University Health Service. He is an old hand before this committee and perhaps has spent more time living with and reporting on the problems of poor people and poor children than any one in the country today. We are delighted to have you here this morning.

STATEMENT OF DR. ROBERT COLES, PSYCHIATRIST, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, UNIVERSITY HEALTH SERVICE

Dr. **Coles**. Thank you, Senator Mondale. I would first like to associate myself particularly with the remarks just made by Professor O'Toole, which I felt were right to the point. If I can become a little philosophical, as he was speaking I kept on thinking of some of the writing of Simone Wile, a French philosopher, and a woman who gave her life working with factory workers and the rural poor until France was overwhelmed by the Nazis, and in some of her books she so beautifully describes what she calls the meaning of work to people much better than social scientists can do.

In any event, I will go on and really echo what has been said here this morning. I have nothing new to offer except my own particular experience with certain American families with which I have been working since 1960. They have included rural, black families in the South, and white families from the region's small towns and the cities, migrant workers, who by the way do have a lot of work, even though they get very little for doing it, and are a perfect example of, it seems to me, the desire that people have to work and of their willingness to work, even if they get one-half of the minimum wage, and if they do not get the benefits that other workers get; Appalachian families, who live in counties by the way where the unemployment rate is sometimes 50, 60, 70 percent; white and black working class families, who live in our northern and midwestern cities, or in the near suburbs, often called streetcar suburbs, and more recently Chicano and Indian families in the West; and Eskimo families in Alaska. I have just come back from a trip there talking with Eskimos who have seen their children go hundreds of miles, thousands of miles away to school, to the lower 48 States——

Senator MONDALE. Is that still going on?

Dr. COLES. Still going on, family disruption of the most extraordinary kind.

Senator MONDALE. Most expensive kind.

Dr. COLES. And most expensive kind.

In the midst of all this work, I have tried as best I can to keep up with well-to-do families, whose lives intersect with these people—the plantation owners, farmowners, factory owners who hire and fire, issue orders, and expect compliance.

As a child psychiatrist, my particular interest has been the children of these families; how do boys and girls grow up under the swiftly changing circumstances of our times—a momentary crisis in this Nation's history? But no one can speak with children long without coming into contact with their parents and grandparents, their grownup next door neighbors. I have tried to document this in various books.

Rather obviously one can single-mindedly study the difficulties certain children have, the economic forces that exert themselves on certain workers, the pressures certain mothers have to deal with as they try to get a good education or proper medical care for their child.

But in each instance there is something larger at stake—workers or housewives or children belong to families, and what is experienced by one person in a family soon enough affects others who belong to that family. We tend to think of a child with problem. A, a man who is going through dilemma B, a woman who faces struggle C; in fact, it is entire families which rather quickly have to respond to the various impasses or quandries particular individuals have to deal with.

Perhaps the only thing I can do before this subcommittee is indicate some of the pressing issues I have witnessed American families facing in recent years—often with little or no help from others.

To start, there are families headed by fathers who can't find work. Today many claim to be tired of hearing about the poor—or picture them hopelessly their own worst enemies; lazy, indifferent, wasteful, given to bad habits. Yet, I think of Kentucky or West Virginia counties I have worked in, where one meets in town after town, and up hollow after hollow, tall, sturdy, decent men, women descendents of people who came to this country centuries ago, explored it and helped build it—and those men are idle not by choice or out of personal inadequacy or wrongdoing, but because there is no work. The same situation holds in other counties in other regions of this Nation—and the effect upon thousands of families is the same: fearfulness, anxiety, sadness, a sense of desperation and futility. A jobless man's situation becomes a wife's mood, a child's feeling about what is in store for him or her, too—all of which is the purest of commonsense. By the way, very hard to document statistically, but simply is there as part of the individual experience of I would say millions of children in various parts of this country. Yet, I fear we sometimes don't want to notice what is thoroughly obvious and evident.

Then, there are families where the father works all right, and maybe the mother, too. I think at this point I had best let a factory worker speak: "Work: I have plenty of it—so much that it's my whole life. I work my regular shift, then I work overtime—whether I want to or not.

"Like I say to my wife: it's a bind, because we need the money, just to keep our heads above the water, but it means that I practically never get to see the kids, except on Sunday, and then I'm so tired I can barely do anything but sleep and eat and get ready for the next week. My wife is working too; she has to—or else we'd be drowning in bills. As it is, with the two of us working, we're still in trouble.

"The money just pours out, as soon as it comes in: food and the mortgage and clothes and the dentist for the kids' teeth and the doctor for my girl—every week. My brother, he doesn't work overtime, but the poor guy had to take a second job on Saturday, or else he told me he'd be borrowing from me. 'Don't try,' I told him; I have none to lend anyone.

"I feel like a guy running hard just to keep in the same position. And let me tell you, it makes a difference at home; my wife feels it, and so do the kids, when you're living like that. The other day I went with my wife and daughter. He wanted to see both of us. I had to call in 'sick,' you don't get days off in my plant without a month of redtape—only that 2-week vacation once a year. We went to the doctor's office, and then we went over to the hospital and we met another doctor; he's a bone specialist."

[The girl actually has an incurable bone disease.]

"Then I took my wife and daughter to lunch. I decided to splurge—a restaurant instead of the hospital cafeteria we're used to. We were sitting there and I was trying to have a good time and so was my wife, and our girl. She was in seventh heaven. But every once in a while my wife would look at me and I'd look at her and we'd both look back at the prices on the menu, and I'd swallow so hard I was afraid I was choking.

"But we tried to be cheerful for the sake of the kid, and I kept reminding myself that I could always go and get an odd job on a Sunday, if worst came to worst. So, we kept talking and I told my daughter she could have anything she wanted. But she is such a good kid, she said, "Daddy, just a hamburger, and I hope it's not too expensive.' I told her no, no. Then I sat there, and the next thing, she and her mother went to the ladies' room, and I was sipping my coffee and wishing it was a beer, and all of a sudden I hear these guys behind me talking.

"They're arguing, only they're laughing at the same time: 'No, I'll take it,' one says, and 'No, I'll take it,' another says, and finally there's a third guy and he says, Look, it'll all come out of the U.S. Treasury, so why should we argue over the check.' For a second I didn't even know what they were talking about, but all of a sudden it dawned on me: they're having their lunch on me, that's what. They skim off all that tax money from me every week, and who has the time or money or know-how to get back even a small amount for deductions? Meanwhile these guys are writing off their lunch, and tomorrow they'll have another 'business' lunch, and God knows what else they're writing off.

"Can I write off the money I spend taking my kid every week in to the hospital; the bus and subway both ways, the lunch she has with her mother, or this time with both of us? You can live off the fat of the land in this country and the ordinary wage earner, he's the one who pays for it with his taxes. They have the oil-depletion allowance. We're so tired by Sunday with work and overtime and odd jobs now and then and my wife's work—well, we're running out of oil ourselves."

He lives in a neighborhood of working-class families west of Boston, and as I think of the problems I have met up with that his family and others like them face, I can only contrast the attitude our society has toward those families—as measured by laws passed, money expended, institutions supported—with the eagerness we have shown to support other elements in our society. There are dyslexic children, 1 in 10 of all our children, plagued by a medical and educational difficulty which becomes for thousands of families a prolonged and bewildering crisis: what is wrong that my child, apparently so intelligent, can't read, and what can I do—to whom can I turn? To whom, indeed? How many cities or towns have the doctors and teachers who know how to diagnose and come to terms with this widespread difficulty? Again, it affects whole families, not just the child.

There are runaway children and youth—living symbols of troubled families. A horrible story in Texas crosses our television screens, and for a moment we are appalled: something ought to have been done. But what—and by whom? What are the parents of runaways to do, to whom are they to go, and with what hope of getting the kind of help they need? The police say it is not their problem. Teachers have their own field to plow. Doctors are too busy or too expansive or too few in number—and on and on.

Then there are "battered children" whose bruises, inflicted by parents, unfortunately make up only the more apparent evidence of family disorder. Or the plight of families that have a retarded child, an emotionally distressed child, a child plagued by severe or chronic illiness, a child who is blind or deaf. Do we need yet additional studies to document the inadequate facilities of professional help or the overwhelming financial burden such children or their parents, such families have to sustain?

Nor only are the poor or working-class people up against hard-to-solve family problems. In the course of my work in the Southwest, I talked with a man who manages a factory just outside of Albuquerque. He was proud of his company's policies toward Spanish-speaking people—it was on that account that I was seeing him: to find out how some of the Chicano people I knew were getting along at work. "They're doing fine," he told me. "We have some problems, but mostly it's fine." A while later he give the conversation a dramatic shift: "I wish someone would worry about my family. Everyone worries about the minorities. My wife says she's sick and tired of hearing it: the minorities this and the minorities that. Everyone here worries about Mexican-Americans or Indians."

I would not, by the way, agree with that, his optimism about the widespread nature of concern.

But in any event, he says: "Back East it was the blacks. Life is no picnic. I think someone ought to go study us. Look at my family—first I was in the Army, moved about from base to base; then I got out, and I started working my way up in the company.

"It's been one move, then another. My children know how to smile and tell everyone they love it, they just love it, because they see the country, the whole world. But I hear them giving to the city we are in the name of the city we were in, and I hear them telling their mother that they miss so-and-so, and somebody else—and I stop and ask myself, for what? That's right, for what is all this moving about? To rise, to make more and more money? That's fine—but there comes a time when you begin adding up the costs, and you get a sick feeling in your stomach: You're paying for 'success' with your family's blood. You mentioned those migrant workers a while back; well, we're migrant workers, too. I'm not asking for anyone's pity, mind you. I love my work. I'd do it again, if I had a choice. I just want to go on record: No one has a complete monopoly on problems."

One can only agree. One can only warn, too, against the danger of quickly conceived "solutions," however generous and well-intentioned. The family, poor or middle class or exceedingly well-to-do, stands in the midst of dozens of "forces," private and public, neighborhood or emanating from far-off Washington, D.C.

Laws affect families; customs do; and needless to say, economic cycles. Then, there are social upheavals, wars, court decisions; a boy goes to war, abortion is declared legal, mortgage rates spiral upward, a company lays off workers, a new tax law goes into effect, school desegregation begins or a new busing program to insure its starts—those are just some of the more obvious "events" which for millions become intimate family matters.

I would hope that American families get close and sustained scrutiny from this committee and elsewhere. Many of the families I visit are for one reason or another in some difficulty; but for the most part they are working hard, or trying to, each member in his or her own way. Often they are isolated from other families. Often they have small or no contact with schools, never mind the other institutions which affect them—a city hall, a medical center, a tax or transportation or communication "authority," which determines obviously where roads are going to be built or what kind of airplanes are going to fly over what neighborhood.

To call upon the worker I quoted earlier: "Who asks us anything? Do they really go out to us, try to let us know in advance what they're thinking of doing in the schools, or about a road they're building, or about the kind of television our kids are going to be looking at? You hear all the time that people don't care, they're apathetic.

"But it takes two: the companies and the Government—do they really want to get a lot of people down their backs, speaking up with their ideas? I doubt it. It's easier just to go ahead and start something, then take on the few people who complain. Sure I'm tired, and how many hours do I have left each day, when I come home? But if there was something really important going on—some meeting or program that affected my wife and kids, that really meant something to us, I'd try to find the time."

Hopefully without being presumptuous, one is entitled to be a touch skeptical. Just as some youths, whatever the Government suggests or offers or prompts—through a Peace Corps or a Vista—show little interest in the idealistic social or political activities, so a good number of families are quite insistent that, whatever their troubles, they and they alone will come to terms with them.

On the other hand, there are many youth who do indeed want to exert themselves on behalf of others, but find no real opportunity to do so; and there are many families who know full well what they and others like them need and might respond to; new and stimulating ties with schools, with hospitals, with certain governmental agencies, with regulatory agencies of various kinds—sanctioned and encouraged rather than sporadically allowed in response to some crisis; a highway to go through a neighborhood; an airport being enlarged; a court order for desegregation; a new curriculum, emphasizing sex education for instance in the schools.

I want to be cautious at this point. The people in the families I visit have no interest in being subjects of yet another "social experiment"—with bureaucratic redtape, a new army of "professionals," all too sure of themselves, and maybe brazenly intrusive when it comes to others. Enough rights of enough citizens have been violated in this country over the years without subjecting families to well-intentioned laws which may, finally, render them increasingly vulnerable to the political power of the State.

It behooves people like myself, anxious for various social changes, to remember that Federal authority, especially when directed at something as ultimately individual and one hopes, private as a family must be carefully wielded indeed. But equally important is the almost crying need one hears over and over again for various kinds of help or direction on the part of particular members of various families. And there are the questions; over and over they get repeated as one becomes a regular visitor to homes: What is happening to this country—with the ever rising delinquency in middle-class neighborhoods, never mind the ghetto? How can we deal with the drug problem—as a family, and before a legal problem develops?

What do we want our children to believe in—apart from winning or succeeding or getting ahead? What should they learn in school, apart from "reading, writing, arithmetic"? Who can one turn to—in this enormously complicated and increasingly impersonal society?

Those are the actual questions somewhat edited by me, of parents I have known, and there are others: why do I have to move, just when I have settled in? Why do I have to move, just because I'm making a little more money, and they say I don't belong here, in the "project"? Why do I have to move—because it's "company policy," they say, just like they used to say, when I was in the Army, "because Uncle Sam says so."

Why do I have to stay away from my husband, in order to get welfare money; I mean, he can't find a job, and I have children to feed, and isn't it a job taking care of children, bringing them up, so why do they come here, the welfare people, and make me feel like 2 cents, and my kids, too? Why do they tell me one thing about my child, and then another, call him "sick" or a "severe delinquent," then take him away, then bring him back: I mean, why don't they sit down and try to teach me, so I can help my boy and help the rest of the family, and not always be appearing in court with him?

Perhaps some of those questions are plaintive or self-pitying. Perhaps there is little the Federal Government can do to supply answers to them. Yet, it is the Federal Government which writes tax laws, earmarks funds for schools, courts, hospitals, housing projects. It is the Federal Government which helps build roads and airports, which licenses television stations, sends men from military post to military post, influences in all sorts of ways various business and economic policies.

And it is the Federal Government, through what it does or does not do, which affects family life in America intimately; by a failure to help through tax legislation the worker I quoted from, whose wife makes a weekly trip with their daughter to a doctor's office and then a hospital, the Government is making a judgment about this aspect of family life in America. I hope this subcommittee will spend a good deal of time listening to various American families and to those who work with them and try to be of help to them—and eventually, perhaps, find itself in a position to make some judgments of its own about how more American families might live what they feel to be less harassed, calmer, and surer lives.

Senator, in addition to that statement, I would like to make a comment or two about what I have heard this morning and for that matter about what I myself have said.

It seems to me that with regard to welfare families, we all know that in many States and communities it serves the interest of a poor family and a jobless family for the mother to be separated from the father so that she can have a degree of support. But my experience with those families has been that this is not a premeditated thing; that the economic stress upon the family comes first, that the families then collapse under the weight of that, the joblessness, the idleness, the loss of self-respect that Professor O'Toole documented so well. Then when the family is fragmented and torn asunder, the welfare law comes in and the family gets support and this separation is given new sanction and support and a kind of secondary gain.

Often the judgment that we make about the motivation of these people, I am afraid, comes from us and our sophisticated knowledge about what we might get if we were to do this or do that. The life that Elliott Liebow described so beautifully in his book is unfortunately a life of free floating spontaneous desperation with all of its effects. I think we do these families an injustice by imagining them calculating what their next move will be in relationship to any particular aspect of the Government.

In addition to that, I want to emphasize the problem of child labor, which still goes on in this country. Anyone who has had any experience in the rural South and in the Southwest, with migrant families, sharecroppers, tenant farm families, knows that child labor is still very much a factor in these families. Here the entire family is committed to the work ethic and so committed to it they are quite willing to send their children to work in order to get some more money, which is a very difficult problem.

I mentioned the experience those of us who have had any contact with Indian families and Alaskan Eskimo families continue to see—the disruption persists. I would want to emphasize my own experience with working-class families and contrast them with the middle-class families as far as work goes on the part of women.

On the one hand, you have women who want to affirm themselves, sometimes I might say under a new kind of social and sociological pressure, feeling if they do not do this, they are somehow failing to become fulfilled, and failing to do justice to themselves as women, in contrast to mothers. On the other hand, you have a lot of working-class mothers who want to stay home and would stay home if they could. I do not know how the Bureau of Census goes about distinguishing about these various subgroups, but I do know that from my own work in factory communities, in working-class communities, I get the feeling from home visit to home visit that most of the mothers there, given a choice, would not work at all until their children were well, well along. This has to be contrasted with upper middle-class families where one works for quite another set of reasons. I guess that is about all I have to say.

Senator MONDALE. Dr. Coles, thank you very much for an extremely moving statement, one which I find impressive and realistic.

We have been wrestling here with that question you raised in your final sentence: How can we develop a position to help American families live with what they feel to be a less harassed, calmer, and surer life. We have had to do so in the midst of, among other things: An administration that is totally insensitive to these problems, if not hostile toward any meaningful governmental effort; an academic community that is becoming increasingly critical of Government programs, how they are administered, their possible effectiveness; and a country which is, as one of your speakers here this morning pointed out, convinced that we have become preoccupied with only the problems of minorities and are not interested in the problems of average Americans. So whatever may have been the optimism, perhaps undue optimism, of the early 1960's, is now overwhelmed by what is surely a pessimistic point of view, with so much pessimism and cynicism that it almost paralyzes efforts to act.

You have spent your whole life on this problem. How do you suggest that we try to deal with this, either in a programmatic way or in terms of mental attitude or both?

Dr. COLES. I can think of nothing that would help American families more than greater economic security and stability for those families. In that sense, I have to come before this committee as completely prejudiced. I think that the goals and aspirations of the American labor movement as they have been demonstrated, for instance most recently in the UAW, these are the goals I think, if realized, would affect favorably the life of more and more American families. But then, of course, there are those people who do not work and therefore are not protected by the labor movement in this country. They have no unions because they do not have jobs.

They are migrants who are not given the various protections of the National Labor Relations Act that has been enacted by the Congress. There is a struggle on the part of the labor movement for working-class people, and there is also the struggle to include more people in the labor movement, millions who ought to be in that movement. I would feel that when this country has a more just economic system, a system which provides work as a right for people, who want to work, and at a decent honorable wage rate, then I think that a lot of the problems that we come up with, those of us who do social observation, will not be there.

In addition to that, of course, there are other problems. The medical care system, which I need not mention, the tax laws. If the tax laws were written differently, the poor people and the working-class people of this country would get a better break.

In my opinion, the tax laws are written primarily to enhance, or at least they work that way, they enhance, I think, the wealthy families. I would emphasize—despite the fact that I am a psychiatrist and physician and I tend to look at people with those eyes of listening to problems, sitting with children, noticing medical difficulties—I would emphasize the economic factors first and foremost. The fact is that there are millions of families in this country from all regions who simply are not getting enough money, many of them do not have working people in the family, and then I would go back to the various impossible situations that confront even working people in this country—the enormous cost of dealing with mental retardation, with overwhelming illness, with a blind or deaf child. I just read in the paper there is a cutback in one of the branches of Government in aid to deaf and blind children. It was either recommended or has just been instituted. Now, anyone who knows what it means to have a deaf or blind child knows what a special educational difficulty this is, and a challenge both in the schools and the home, and knows what a disaster this can be.

So I think there is a lot the Federal Government can do in many, many ways. There is certainly a lot I think it can do to emphasize what can only be called a redistribution of wealth in this country, so that more people have enough money to get by, and perhaps less have so much money that they literally not only do not know what to do with it, but at times wield it in ways that are frivolous or have no use to anyone.

Let us face it. The countries that have been mentioned here this morning, the Scandanavian countries, England, one could include Australia and New Zealand, are nations which have come to grips perhaps more than we have through their Federal Governments, though their various levels of government, with fundamental economic issues—with economic disparity. They have been countries that have been willing to tackle these problems, I think, more vigorously than we have. It is not only the services they render, the medical services or whatever, but their fundamental willingness to guarantee the families a certain kind of dignity, economic dignity—a working dignity that I have seen little evidence of in this country.

Senator **Mondale**. The Census Bureau pointed out that in 20 years the real income of the average family has doubled. There are more people working today than ever before, even though unemployment levels are unacceptably high. You have been studying in this field during most of those changes. Do you find that these statistics that suggest improved economic positions for people—and jobs and the rest—have contributed to a feeling of more control or less control over their lives? Is this situation you described getting better or worse?

Dr. COLES. I think there has been some improvement. Many of the working class people that I talked to remember all too well what it was like in the depression. For them life has improved. They are no longer jobless. They have attained some niche in the society. But with improvement, of course, has come problems.

One is the old dilemma, what does the baseline mean? The baseline means of course that in the 1930's we had millions unemployed. We also had many more sharecroppers, many more tenant farmers, so there has been a movement of people to the cities with some increasing employment and obviously with increasing real income. One has to question what the baseline was about and the way those people lived in the past.

Nevertheless, with progress, of course, comes new challenges, and the continuing economic insecurity, by the way, is there. They never can take for granted a job, even the autoworkers cannot take for granted a job, never mind textile workers in the South, or people working in smaller industries; so if there has been some improvement, the insecurity that goes with this new position in society persists, inflation persists, demands of all kinds persist, and people have to deal with the new needs that are generated in this society, sometimes irrationally.

All kinds of appetites are stimulated which I think even the American Medical Association might find unhealthy for the future life of the child, as they are encouraged to eat certain things and desire certain things that all doctors know are not good for them and to want certain things and to spend money on certain things. So there are all kinds of ramifications, I would think, to those statistics, which perhaps are best got at by some combination of direct observation of families, maybe a touch or two of anthropological and philosophical speculation.

But I would not in any way subscribe to what you mention as the futility on the part of the academic community.

If I may perhaps be a little out of order here, my experience with the academic community has been that it, too, is responsive to changes in national climate, if not, I might add, economic changes. I can conceive of the academic community 3 years from now—under different leadership—suddenly finding itself greatly spirited and with all kinds of enthusiasm, with all kinds of new hope and with all kinds of ideas and a sudden willingness to come to Washington as never before, and not necessarily, by the way, with crackpot schemes either. In other words, I think the academic community, in all fairness, is capable of becoming depressed and sad, given a lack of responsiveness on the part of the Government.

I do have something else on my mind that was prompted by a column that I saw in the New York Times yesterday by Mr. Reston. His concern for American children came across in that column. Today in another part of this city we are again having hearings about the nature of this Government and the nature of its leadership. Anyone who has gone into a home and talked with the children and has asked them about what they want to do in the future and what they look up to and what their values are, and sometimes maybe asked them to draw a picture or two about how they view Washington (draw me a picture of the Nation's Capitol, draw me a picture of an American politician, draw me a picture of the kind of home you would like to be living in or the best kind of city you can imagine in your mind, if you could plan that city) knows how sensitive children are to what is happening about them.

Mr. Reston pointed out that we need a concern for the 21st century on the part of the academic community, not to mention the political community, a sense of concern for the problems that will face this country when today's children become tomorrow's parents and indeed grandparents.

But I think we also need a sense of immediate concern for what is happening to a generation of children who are growing up and have seen before their eyes the deaths, one after another, of various idealistic and politically idealistic and socially idealistic leaders, the increasing confusion in this country as it came enmeshed in a war that practically no one defends, followed by this latest episode of deteriorating public morality. A lot of the people who come forth with rhetoric about the integrity of the American family and how the family must be in some way protected from various kinds of intrusive social and political reform movements would do well to think about the sensitivity and responsiveness of children to the kinds of widespread and blatant and cynical corruption, of an extraordinary and perhaps new kind that has not only affected this Government but I would think has also affected American families. Because if the family is anything, it is the medium through which one generation teaches an ethical system of values to another generation. That is what the family is about. It is concerned with the ethical rearing of children. When those children and those parents who rear them can fallback on nothing but the kind of pervasive hypocrisy and the kind of two-faced preaching that on the one hand exhort law and order and on the other hand demonstrate lawlessness and corruption of extraordinary kind, then I say the American family is as jeopardized as it possibly can be, because children watch television, and they read, and their parents read and watch television, and they all know what is happening about them.

This too is a force on the American family.

So the Federal Government cannot only do something about attempting to give working people and would-be working people of this country a better deal, but it can in very fundamental ways show by its own integrity a whole generation of families, show those families what it really does mean to be an American.

Senator **MONDALE**. Thank you for a powerful statement, to say the least, and one which I think should have been on television right now—in addition to what people are watching. I think we have to see reality as it is, then maybe we can begin to repair it.

I guess I have no further questions, except to thank you for once again contributing so enormously to the work of this committee.

Thank you very much.

[Whereupon at 12:50 p.m. the hearing was recessed to reconvene Tuesday, September 25, 1973 at 10 a.m.]

AMERICAN FAMILIES: TRENDS AND PRESSURES, 1973

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1973

U.S. Senate,
Subcommittee on Children and Youth
of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10 a.m., in room 4232, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator Walter F. Mondale (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senator Mondale.

Committee staff members present: A. Sidney Johnson III and Ellen Hoffman, professional staff members; and John K. Scales, minority counsel.

Senator Mondale. The subcommittee will come to order.

We continue this morning our hearings on "American Families: Trends and Pressures," and we are very privileged to have one of our great Americans, Dr. Margaret Mead, present with us this morning.

Will you please come to the witness table. Dr. Mead, we are delighted to have you with us this morning.

Please proceed.

STATEMENT OF MARGARET MEAD, PH. D., CURATOR EMERITUS, AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

Dr. Mead. Senator Mondale, my name is Margaret Mead. I am a curator emeritus of the American Museum of Natural History, and I am an anthropologist who has been working on comparative studies of the family, children, and youth for 50 years.

I am testifying in the light of that experience of intensive studies of the family in many cultures, and the continuing attempt to assay what is happening to the family in our own society.

Our society is in a very bad state. Our families are in disarray, our whole system of help for family and children is being aggressively dismantled.

We have more and more broken families, more and more poor fathers who cannot support their children, more and more children who have no one to care for them.

It is estimated now that we have about 3 million doorstep children. These are teenagers, young people for whom you cannot find any person who can give permission for them to have their tonsils out, who are living without any responsible care by society. Many runaways are a small section of this group.

We have an increasing number of elderly people and decreasing facilities to care for them. I would like to emphasize particularly, Senator, that when we mention statistics about what is being done in any field, they never or rarely ever are corrected for the increase in numbers in this country or for inflation, so it very often looks as if a great deal of money is being spent, or more money is being spent than was being spent years ago, without allowing for the fact that the population has increased and that the number of old people and the number of handicapped children have increased as we have been able to keep more children alive.

We came out of world War II and the depression determined that no child, no family, no old person, should ever again in this country be hungry or homeless or uncared for.

We came out with very high ideals. During World War II we had time to care for the nutrition of our people and time to plan ahead. But in the last quarter of the century things in this country have been steadily deteriorating. There have been little fluctuations of hope and improvement, but the deterioration has gone on.

Our prisons are filled with people who should not be there, who are there simply because they have not bail, who have never been tried, and many of them are fathers of families, and the families are left fatherless.

Our detention homes are filled with children who never should have been put there at all. Our cities are being torn apart, and people are being separated from the communities in which they once lived and scattered about.

Wherever we look we find that very serious deterioration is going on, and it cannot be offset by the kinds of particular pinpointed programs that we hear about when all the support systems in the country are in disarray.

We have just had a report in this morning's newspapers of the first reports on revenue sharing. If you look at the proportions you will see the large proportions are going to relieve the local tax situation or on what is called public safety, which tends to mean more police to punish people who should never have gotten into the position they are in to start with.

We are willing to spend hundreds of thousands of dollars when someone is turned into a criminal, when a few hundred spent on keeping his family going when he was a child might have made all the difference.

I think also, Mr. Senator, we have arrived at a point where we can really overhaul our whole situation. In the past a new program would be inaugurated and it looked somewhat good. It was not complete nor what we wanted to do, but everyone who has cared about children, everyone who cared about the family, put themselves back of whatever program came up, hopefully, and then when those programs were not complete, were too partial, too fragmented, we did not criticize them because it was all that was being done.

At this moment the situation is so acute, our cities are in such a frightful state, our rural poor are in such a very bad state, that I think we can begin to take a new look.

I want to congratulate you for realizing how desperate and important the situation is, and for realizing that we now have a chance really to make a new start.

One of the advantages—there are very few—of the disarray is that it is then possible to pick up the pieces and really make a new start.

If you look at the budget or look at an analysis of what we are doing, you will find the family does not appear anywhere. We have child care, health, food, housing, in separate categories, but no place even where children are properly gathered together any more, and no place at all for the family.

I remember going in 1944 to a home economic exhibit of beautiful white kitchens, sanitary, well designed, and I looked the kitchen over and I said, "But where do you put the baby?" There was no place to hang it up or sit it down, and in some cases it might have gotten lost under the icebox.

I asked all those professionals why there was no place for the baby in that newly designed American kitchen, and they said, "Because there is no Bureau of Family Life in the U.S. Department of Agriculture."

This was 1944, and we are still in the same position. There is no focus that looks after the family as a whole, although there are many programs that look at particular problems, the disadvantaged children or disadvantaged old people, but they are specialized programs and nobody brings them together.

I think that we are now ready to do what I assume this whole investigation is about, to make the family a focal point and ask what every other type of legislation is doing to the family.

Senator MONDALE. I had the same experience in a much more limited sense than you, but I have worked on practically all the human problems—the hunger route, the Indian route, the migratory labor route, the equality of education route, and the housing route; all of them—and increasingly reached a conclusion that is not very profound.

It all begins with the family. That is the key institution in American life. If it breaks down, if it is unable to do what society has assumed it will do, then all of these other problems develop.

They are symptoms I think of more fundamental family breakdown. I think there is an enormous amount of public support for that approach. Maybe one of the reasons many of these social problems do not have the support from the public that they deserve is they sense there is a more fundamental reason which is being ignored.

Dr. MEAD. Right. Throughout history whenever there have been periods of change, people usually start with the family. If the family has been tight, they make it loose; if it has been loose, they make it tight. They have always sensed in the end that the family is the key point, and periodically in history we have had periods when the family was broken up in one form of another.

Every society in the end has had to go back to the family because it is the key to the development of the kind of citizen who can support any system, and particularly our own.

Senator MONDALE. I remember that Dr. Bronfenbrenner—who is going to testify later today—once told us that in a million years of social development in disparate societies, many of which could never have heard of each other, practically every one of these societies has ended up with a family unit, whatever their religion, culture, or mores. That is the institution they ended up with considering it fundamental for human development, ethical treatment, training, and the rest.

Would you agree with that?

Dr. MEAD. Yes; I would. We have never discovered any other way to produce responsible adult human beings except through the family.

It is interesting that in our past we did hear a great deal about the widow's son who was a newsboy and later became a model of success in the United States, but that widow's son lived in a community where everybody else lived in a family, and where the widow and her son were supported by other families, by the neighborhood, and the community. So he was not brought up in some housing development somewhere where the father had had to leave in order for the mothers and children to get somewhere to live.

You can bring children up in one-parent families if there are enough two-parent families around to support them, and if the institutions of society are not destroying them.

Senator MONDALE. You began with a fairly bleak definition of our present situation. I agree with many of those points. What is the Margaret Mead remedy for these problems? Where would you begin?

Dr. MEAD. I think one of the major points is that you have to begin everywhere at once. An approach that says: "Well, we have to educate the children first, and when they grow up they will have fine families" fails. We find by the time we do—those children have grown up in bad families, they make bad parents—that we are going around in a circle.

We have to deal with grandparents as well as with the young parents. We have to deal with research as to how we can go forward, and of course it is not enough to do research only on children and the family; we have to know what kind of communities to build.

We have to stop tearing our communities to pieces. We have to stop zoning communities so that everybody who lives there is the same age and the same shape and the same degree of immaturity or overmaturity so there is no one to help anyone else.

Wherever we turn, what we need to do is to look at our programs in terms of people and the needs of people, and not in the name of pipelines or offshore drilling or more strip mining to destroy our landscape.

I think as I understood the principal thrust of these hearings it is making the family a focal point by considering a family well-being impact statement, for instance, comparable to the environmental impact statements. This would mean looking at every piece of major legislation, every program—and today every program has a Federal component—in terms of what it does to the family.

Senator MONDALE. Does that make sense to you?

Dr. MEAD. It makes a great deal of sense to me, yes.

Senator MONDALE. I have been impressed with what the environmental impact statement has done. The agencies hate it, but it gives citizens the right to go to these agencies and say, before we build that SST we want to know what you think it will do to the environment, and we have a right to see that publicly.

One of the reasons we beat the SST was that when their scientists got to work on it, it became clear it was very dangerous to the environment.

If we could have a similar system of family impact statements, when we considered a tax law we could ask the Internal Revenue Service, "what is this going to do to the average family?" Of if we debated a law that forced every welfare mother out of the house on the theory that her children could do better with alternative arrangements, we should require HEW to tell us, "What does this do to those children of that family?"

Or if we have a national program of senior citizens housing which works on the theory that there should not be three-generational homes.

I think these are the kinds of things that we would like to hear from these agencies.

Dr. MEAD. You know at present we compare very unfavorably with Western Europe and in some instances unfavorably with Eastern Europe with what we are doing about housing and welfare and education.

But this would put us ahead in a sense because most of those other programs were developed on an older theory, and just as the environmental impact statement has been a great contribution we feel now to the whole protection of the planetary environment. I think a family impact statement would be a tremendous advance ahead in thinking about society and how society can care for all its people at once, with no one left out.

If you do not think about the family, then you put your senior citizens somewhere 20 miles out of town, and nobody can ever find them, and you segregate them with each other.

If you think about the family when you set up housing for senior citizens, you put the housing half a block away from some junior citizens, so age and youth have some relationship to each other.

When you think about disaffected youngsters who cannot live with their own families, you do not take them off and put them in some institution somewhere, but you have a place three blocks away from home where they can take a sleeping bag and take their laundry home, and they do not have to run away, but they do not have to spend time in the little cramped quarters with people that cannot get on.

If you make the family the focus, you think about everybody including the unmarried because you try to give them some kind of place to live that is somewhere near children and you do not cut them off from all relationship to children and the future.

Senator MONDALE. I want to ask a couple of other questions. We heard a good deal of testimony yesterday from such persons as Ed Zigler and Bob Coles and James O'Toole that one of the central ingredients of a healthy family is that the head of the family be able to obtain a decent job and earn enough to care for his family properly. Where that is not the case because they are unskilled or because discrimination exists, that family inevitably is under great stress and is a good target for breaking up.

Would you agree with that?

Dr. MEAD. Oh, I completely agree with it. One of the worst things that is happening in this country is the working poor who do not get enough support so that the father can support his family. He is driven out of the family and driven into irresponsibility.

The abandoned mother then has too much on her hands, and then we do not provide the necessary care for the children, so you can get a kind of domino effect, that the minute that we do not have the situation in which the husband and father can find a job and care for his wife and children adequately, there is no place he can find a house for them, there is no way he can get food for them, there is no way he can supplement his income if it is too low to buy adequate food. The minute we get this, each situation gets worse than the last, and we are likely to end up with institutional children who become the parents of institutional children later.

Senator **Mondale.** As you know our society seems to be deeply split over whether you provide services for the poor or whether you have an income distribution policy, income maintenance or something similar. There are many who cannot work, but there are also those who are working and cannot make enough to care for their families.

There are others who would like to work and cannot find work. Could we not bring the country back together again on a national employment policy?

It seems to me that decent work with decent pay, hopefully with some kind of training components so that they can be upwardly mobile, combines the best of both. This would provide both income and services at the same time, and I think the American public would stand behind it.

I even noticed the other day that Gabriel Hauge of a small bank in New York—Manufacturers Hanover or something—said that we should have a national program of employing 3 or 4 million people at the bottom. He had a different reason: he thought we could manage the economy better and be a little tighter on credit, if we had a net to catch the poor people.

Does that strategy make sense to you?

Dr. **Mead.** I think we certainly have to bring the country back together, or that it is split, that some people feel that you should only care for the very poor, either they have to be very sick or very deserving, and other people take the position that we must go all the way from a guaranteed annual income to a negative income tax to an employment policy.

The danger is that this may be used to disqualify people who are temporarily and in some cases permanently unable to be employed.

There were reports this last week of an examination in New York City of unemployed people on welfare and the percentage of them that were sick and unemployable is terribly high.

Senator **Mondale.** About 65 percent, as I recall.

Dr. **Mead.** Yes. People are therefore frightened that if you put all your emphasis on employment, you do nothing for those people. This is what is really confronting you, I think, Mr. Senator, as to how to put this picture together so that people will realize that caring for our unemployment, our weak, our old, our uneducated, and badly educated, is a necessary step toward putting the family together again with its properly employed father on a salaried basis.

It is not a contrast between the two because if we do not care enough to care compassionately for the weak and the poor and the black and the brown youngsters who are not getting a chance, we are not very likely to devise a national employment policy that is designed for people instead of for some special interest.

Senator MONDALE. In most Western societies there is some sort of children's allowance to provide help for all families. Most of these programs operate without regard to income during the childbearing period of a family, on the theory this is the time when most families are under stress and have difficulty making ends meet, and that this is the time when the family ought to have resources to help develop the children in the family.

I just came back from Israel, and they are moving dramatically in this whole field of children. They started out in a modest way, and liked it so much, they are really expanding. I think Canada has some children's allowance, as well as France, and others.

I believe one of our problems in this country is that working people think most programs are just for the very, very poor. While they might not regret that, they also would like us to understand that the autoworker and his family, the steelworker out there and his family, and the carpenter are having trouble making ends meet. Most of their trouble comes when they are sick and when they are raising a family.

They have all the costs of clothes, education, housing, and everything else that goes along with trying to raise a family.

Does it make sense to you that we consider some sort of children's allowance program, hopefully not with any socioeconomic guidelines, just across the board?

Does that make sense to you?

Dr. MEAD. No. I think so much a child does not get us very far because for the very poor they might even have a child to get it. They have to be terribly poor for such allowance to matter, but occasionally they are.

And as you go up the income scale and you are trying to make allowances for other children, your need changes. I think we would be better off to have graduated scales worked out in negative income tax and different kinds of educational benefits, for the children who want to go on to college—and we are at present sending everybody to college because we do not know what to do with them—but at present we need multikinds of education for the young people who want different kinds of education and different kinds of situations.

So then I think a child allowance system does not on the whole help. It may be a necessary provision for countries in different stages of technological development from ours. We also have to recognize that we want to keep our family size down because although the American family size is not very large, our stress on the world's environment is very high. Every child that is born in this country uses up something like 40 percent more energy and irreplaceable natural resources than does the child born in India.

If we are going to begin to accept our part of the world's burdens, we have to realize that the small family, well cared for, well educated, well qualified, are our best contribution to the world, and I do not think that we meet these problems by child allowance.

I think we meet them much better by focusing our programs on the needs of the family, and then the family in turn will be able to look after its children better.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for a most useful contribution to our discussion.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Mead follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. MARGARET MEAD, CURATOR EMERITUS, AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

I wish to congratulate Senator Mondale on his forward-looking recognition of the changes that are going on in the United States and the overriding importance of the well-being of the American Family.

Our people are in a parlous state; millions are undernourished, three million door-step children roam the country with no one responsible for them, our small fragile defenseless families are breaking up, lacking support, or protection from neighbor, kin, community or the nation, our old people are ending their lives in squalor and misery. Those on whom a country must rely for its well being, the hundreds of thousands professionally engaged in caring for and teaching children, helping families, finding meaningful career paths for **youth,** and giving meaning to the life of the elderly, are in dispair. They have watched us steadily deteriorate from a people who came out of the Depression and World War II more determined than we had ever been that no child would ever go hungry, no sick person unattended, no youth without someone accountable, no working father unable to care for his children, no abandoned mother with no way of caring for her children while she worked, no grandparent left with empty hands. Beginning with the Depression the nation had steadily assumed responsibility for every man, woman and child, within our borders.

And for twenty-five years we have watched outselves sliding into a pit of deterioration, corruption, apathy, indifference and outright brutality towards the weak, the sick, the young and the poor.

But as more children went hungry, more old people uncared for, more families broke up, there were also thousands of efforts, at local state and federal level to do something about our cities falling into ruins that breed crime and misery, our alienated young people, our disappointed minorities, our rural poor. Each new effort brought hope that some solutions would be found. But the efforts at amelioration often made matters worse, raised expectations that could not be fulfilled, cancelled each other out. We looked back on the great reform efforts of the early quarter of this century and watched them go sour, as children's detention homes, meant to rescue children from prisons, proved training grounds for crime, as junior high schools meant to relieve the pressure of mammoth senior high schools instead isolated together children least fitted to be together, and as the move of parents to the suburbs -- for their children's sake -- ended in the destruction of the city and the loneliness of the suburbs where friendless young mothers went into post partum psychosis, and the children of the affluent took to drugs and petty thrill-producing crime.

Whether the efforts came from small communities or from federal initiative, they bred both hope and dispair, for there was still a sense that something was happening, that there might be new towns that were communities, schools where children were not placed on a single ladder where all who did not fit were branded as failures, efforts to recompense the culturally disadvantaged for homes where no one had time to talk to them.

Then came 1973, and we saw the whole system of Federal provision for people, for people who were poor, or unfortunate, for children and young families and the lonely, old, impoverished being dismantled almost over night. And the dismantling had echoes within every matching state and local program, compound of uncertainty about what revenue sharing meant, and inability to deal with the results of inflation. Welfare limits were raised. Before all the children who should have had school lunches ever got them, recent cuts will reduce the rolls of hungry children--it is estimated -- by 800,000. Hundreds of thousand of eager workers, who have been recruited in the new belief in community participation and para-professionals, have lost their jobs. Students who had planned to go to college find no way to go. And families, families that are absolutely crucial to the health of the nation, crumble under burdens too great to bear; housing programs that force men to desert their wives so their children won't go hungry, welfare that degrades, prisons filled with those who have never been found guilty but cannot furnish bail, while money and research goes not to new ways of finding unpolluting energy for our homes, but to more rapid ways of devastating our landscape, not to a better understanding of children but to better ways of suppressing the symptoms of dispair which our own policies have evoked, by training more police and providing new methods of surveillance.

The country is in terrible disarray. Richest and strongest of nations we may be, but we seem to have lost any concern for those who are young or weak, old or poor.

Out of this debacle there must come something new, some new recognition of how we can strengthen and support our families, rebuild our communities, bring the old people back into the community to be useful and warm to the young, provide many kinds of education instead of only one, stop giving priority to miles and miles of cement above the well being and safety of our children.

It will not be enough to humanize the new "Federalism," to invoke help in the courts to get us back where we were before the dismantling began, before more babies began to die, and old people gasp and choke to death with our polluted cities. Because where we were **was not good** enough; where we were very ill befitted our wealth. **Our steadily rising** GNP dismally matched our steadily rising rate of meaningless imprisonments for the young and the poor, the black and the brown, steadily rising divorce, steadily rising number of children irretriveably and irreversibly marred by malnutrition in infancy.

Out of the depths into which our National concern for people has sunk, we may now begin to face a need that has been recognized for a quarter of a century, but for which we may now be ready, the need as Dr. Zigler expressed it yesterday, for an overall policy on the family, the need for some kind of family well being impact statement.

In 1944, I visited an exhibition of new well designed kitchen equipment, highly approved and backed by the Home Economic Departments. But within these white and convenient fixtures there was no place for a baby, nowhere to hang it up, sit it, or let it lie down. I asked why and the answer was revealing, "Because there is no Bureau of Family Life within the United States Department of Agriculture." And so, there was no place for the baby. Unless there is a central spot from which the well being of the family, the impact on the family of every piece of legislation every program....there will indeed be no place for the baby -- neither in federal programs, now in the concern of the nation. Such a statement of the impact of federal legislation and programs on the well being of the American family would have enormous consequences. On the one hand, we could look at things like urban renewal that breaks up communities and makes thousands homeless, at freeways that cut communities in half and leave once happy homes abandoned and burning, tax laws which bear unfairly on young families and on women who have to work, provisions for medical care that tangle the elderly and less educated up in bundles of red tape. And we would look also at the benevolent legislation - when such legislation is revived--to evaluate whether we had not been taking too many children out of their homes into institutions, rather than providing support for frantic, desperate families from which adolescents run away, and within which little children are abused. We can now take into account both the dreadful consequences of valuing balancing a budget more than caring for people and cutting services to human beings to save funds for oil subsidies, strip mining, more and more deadly weapons. And we can take account of criticisms which have been levied against our schools, our hospitals, our housing programs, our youth hostels, our rehibilitation centers, our half way houses, our day care centers. While things seemed to be going in the right direction, those who cared deeply for the fate of the mothers and infants were loathe to attack many practices which they felt were undesirable. But now, when hope is almost dead, we need not be afraid that criticism will dammage the dying programs. Instead we can start to plan in a much more coherent and responsible way, placing the family and its needs at the center, scruitinizing every kind of legislation, every kind of program for what it will mean to the well being of the family.

We can ask, is there anything about this proposal that will force young people to marry too early or prevent them from marrying at all, that will hinder their finding a home in which to raise their children, that will help or hinder each young man who wants to learn to do some kind of work, that will penalize or help a working woman left with the care of her children, that will help or hinder early diagnosis of handicap, that will provide or reduce the possibility for every child's adequate nutrition, that will create, or destroy communities within which families can be given support and help, that will mean better schools, more diversified schools, or schools which force all children into the same mold. We can start now to develop a national policy on the family which will be far better than anything that we as a nation have ever done -- knowing that as the family goes, so goes the nation.

Senator MONDALE. Our next witness is an old friend of this committee, Dr. Urie Bronfenbrenner, professor of human development and family studies of Cornell University.

Dr. Bronfenbrenner, we are very pleased to have you with us this morning.

STATEMENT OF DR. URIE BRONFENBRENNER, PROFESSOR OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND FAMILY STUDIES, CORNELL UNIVERSITY

Dr. BRONFENBRENNER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is especially gratifying to appear at a hearing of a Senate committee which is looking at the positive resources of our country at a time when we need to move forward in some of our most fundamental capacities for survival.

Mr. Chairman, 2 years ago, at the first hearings conducted by this subcommittee, I presented evidence of what I viewed as a disturbing trend in the position and prospects of the American family and its children. I then went on to speak with some optimism of policies and programs—some already in force, others clearly on the horizon—which could counteract the trend, and perhaps even reverse it.

I appear before you today as a more sober man. The disturbing trend to which I called the committee's attention has increased, and so has the evidence for its course and its consequences. But I can claim poor credit as a prophet, for the policies and programs that I saw on the horizon have turned out to be not a rising sun, but a falling star, barely perceptible by its now cold, reflected light.

I speak today, perhaps not with optimism, but yet with hope. For as we have gained more knowledge about our growing problems, we have learned more as well about their possible solution. Some of these solutions lie within the purvey of the Federal Government, not only directly through its legislative and executive powers, but also indirectly through its influence as a voice of national leadership and, I would add, by example, as the Nation's top employer and administrator.

But first, I will speak to the broader issue to which these hearings are addressed; trends and pressures affecting American families.

THE WINDS OF CHANGE

The most important fact about the American family today is the fact of rapid and radical change. The American family is significantly different from what it was only a quarter of a century ago.

In a statement which I have submitted to your committee I have documented those statistics, and I will highlight only a few of the facts here.

There are the statements about the increase in the percent of the Nation's mothers who are working outside the home, especially mothers of young children. Over a quarter of all the Nation's children under 6 have mothers who are working outside the home; next, a fact that is perhaps not so often recognized: as more mothers go to work, the number of other adults in the family who could care for the child has shown a marked decrease.

One of my graduate students has done a study of what has been happening to people in the household over the last 100 years. The most dramatic change is in that realm.

Senator MONDALE. So there has been a dramatic increase in the number of working mothers of preschool children so that now one out of three mothers works?

Dr. BRONFENBRENNER. That is correct.

Senator MONDALE. How many of them work full time, do you know?

Dr. BRONFENBRENNER. That is a specific which we at the present time cannot get out of our own census. I have been trying desperately to get it.

Senator MONDALE. Do you suspect most of them are full time?

Dr. BRONFENBRENNER. I do not believe most of them are full time. Mothers are realists and realize that one cannot do a job of work for a very young child and work full time unless there are other arrangements—and there are not other arrangements, so we are caught.

Senator MONDALE. In any event whatever that proportion, at the same time the number of three generational households is dropping.

Dr. BRONFENBRENNER. It is not so much the number of three generational households which is dropping but, to give you a concrete example, 50 years ago in the State of Massachusetts 50 percent of the households included at least one other adult beside the parent. Today the figure is only 4 percent.

The divorce rate among families with children has been rising substantially during the last 20 years. The percent of children from divorced families is almost double what it was a decade ago. If present rates continue, one child in six will lose a parent through divorce by the time he is 18.

Senator MONDALE. What was the figure 20 years ago, I assume 1 in 12?

Dr. BRONFENBRENNER. That is correct.

One of the statistics I find hard to believe I have checked it a number of times, and find it is so, it concerns 10 percent of all children under 6—2.2 million of them—who, in 1970, were living in single-parent families with no father present in the home. Incidentally, this is almost double the rate for a decade ago. Moreover, almost half of the mothers in single-parent families are now in the labor force, and a third of them are working full time. To come to the main point: in 1970 the average income for a single-parent family with children under 6 was $3,100—well belowe the poverty line. Even when the mother worked, her average income of $4,200 barely exceeded the poverty level.

In other words, the great majority of single-parent families are living in poverty, and what that reflects is our welfare laws and the kind of conditions under which many poor families are forced to live.

To summarize this purely statistical side, I have taken a conservative criterion for the number of children in America whose families need some help if the family is going to survive, and that figure, as you can see in the report, is 4.5 million children under 6. We are not even here talking about school-age children or teenage children or the doorstep children that Margaret Mead was speaking to us about.

It is customary in such statements to call attention to the especially difficult plight of the black family. That is documented here. I want to stress that the census does not provide comparable information for other groups living under duress, such as American Indians, Mexican-Americans, whites living in Appalachia, et cetera. If and when such data become available they are likely to show similar trends.

It is not only poor families that are the victims of neglect. Among families that are intact and well-off economically, and, of course, predominantly white, research results indicate that parents are spending less time in activity with their children.

In my statement, I have called attention to some of the major changes that have produced this effect.

Senator **Mondale.** In a sense, our families, or at least our children are being victimized by prosperity, are they not?

Dr. **Bronfenbrenner.** That is correct. This is the price of what William James years ago—the great psychologist—called America's greatest illness, our worship of the "bitch-goddess-success."

Senator **Mondale.** I recall somebody said—maybe it was you—the cocktail hour had replaced the family hour.

Dr. **Bronfenbrenner.** The children's hour.

Senator **Mondale.** The children's hour. Is there any way to chart that? How do you know?

Dr. **Bronfenbrenner.** It is very hard to chart that partly because of the very existence of the neglect of concern for children and families. Nobody has been looking.

We do not even know what the problems are. That is how deeply they are buried from public consciousness or even scientific consciousness.

There is some scattered evidence. For example, recently some colleagues of mine did a study on what happened to fathers and young children. They did so simply by attaching a little microphone on the baby's clothes during the first year of its life and recorded what went on. The baby's permission, of course, was obtained and the baby was fully aware of what was going on. [Laughter.]

What was recorded was the time that the father's voice occurred on the tape, regardless of whether he was talking to the baby or not, computed as an average amount of time per day.

That figure, Mr. Chairman—these were middle-class families—is all of 37.7 seconds, which is the average amount of time that a father's voice was heard on the recorder in the presence of a 1-year-old child.

I have spoken to this committee in the past about the many influences that deprive the child of human contacts, the fragmentation of the extended family, separation of residential and business areas, occupational mobility, et cetera.

I would call attention to another factor which I think dramatizes the issue. For example, a brochure recently received in the mail describes a "cognition crib" equipped with a tape recorder that can be activated by the sound of the infant's voice. In addition, frames built into the sides of the crib permit insertion of "programed play modules for sensory and physical practice." The modules come in sets of six, which the parent is "encouraged to change" every 3 months so as to keep pace with the child's development. Since "faces are what an infant sees first, six soft plastic faces adhere to the window." Other modules include mobiles, a crib aquarium, a piggy bank, and—my favorite—"ego building mirrors." Parents are hardly mentioned except as potential purchasers.

That is not a statistic, Mr. Chairman, but I think it speaks more eloquently than numbers.

Although no systematic evidence is available, there are indications that a withdrawal of adults from the lives of children is also occurring outside the home. To quote from the report of the White House Conference:

"In our modern way of life, it is not only parents of whom children are deprived, it is people in general. A host of factors conspire to isolate children from the rest of society. The fragmentation of the extended family, the separation of residential and business areas, the disappearance of neighborhoods, zoning ordinances, occupational mobility, child labor laws, the abolishment of the apprentice system, consolidated schools, television, separate patterns of social life for different age groups, the working mother, the delegation of child care to specialists—all these manifestations of progress operate to decrease opportunity and incentive for meaningful contact between children and persons older, or younger, than themselves."

This erosion of the social fabric isolates not only the child but also his family. In particular, with the breakdown of community, neighborhood, and the extended family, and the rise in the number of father-absent homes, increasingly greater responsibility has fallen on the young mother. In some segments of the society, the resulting pressures appear to be mounting beyond the point of endurance. For example, the growing number of divorces is now accompanied by a new phenomenon: the unwillingness of either parent to take custody of the child. And in more and more families, the woman is fleeing without waiting for the mechanism of a legal or even agreed upon separation.

Increasing numbers of married women are being reported to police departments as missing. Although no national statistics are available, news media have reported a "quantum leap" in the number of runaway wives whom private detectives are hired to retrieve by the fathers who are left with the children.

Systematic data are at hand, however, to document an increase in a more gruesome trend, the killing of infants under 1 year of age—this is the age group for which the figures are growing at the fastest rate. Infanticide has been increasing since 1957. Although the number of infant homicides accounted for only 2.2 percent of the total homicides in 1964, the rate of 5.4 deaths per 100,000 population was higher than that for all persons aged 55 years and over. The 74-percent increase from 3.1 in 1957 placed infanticide in 1964 at the highest level recorded since 1945.

In my view this is a reflection of the desperation in which young mothers are placed today. Child abuse statistics points to a similar situation, in which the most severe injuries are inflicted not by drunken fathers, not by babysitters, but by young mothers in single-parent families.

As students of biology and behavior have observed, Mr. Chairman, when a species begins to kill its young, it means there is something terribly wrong, not with the species, but with the environment—ecology as it is called—in which it is forced to live.

I feel frustrated because there are so many things that need to be said to the American people and to the Congress in this connection.

What one sees, as I reported to the committee before, is a growing trend toward alienation of children and families in this country.

Even in intact families the centrifugal forces generated within the family by its increasingly isolated position have propelled its members in different directions. As parents, especially mothers, spend more time in work and community activities, children are placed in or gravitate to group settings, both organized and informal. For example, between 1965 and 1970 the number of children enrolled in day care centers doubled, and the demand today far exceeds the supply.

Outside preschool or school, the child spends increasing amounts of time solely in the company of his age mates. The vacuum created by the withdrawal of parents and other adults has been filled by the informal peer group.

A recent study has found that at every age and grade level, children today show a greater dependency on their peers than they did a decade ago. A parallel investigation indicates that such susceptibility to group influence is higher among children from homes in which one or both parents are frequently absent.

In addition, "peer oriented" youngsters describe their parents as less affectionate and less firm in discipline. Attachment to age mates appears to be influenced more by a lack of attention and concern at home than by any positive attraction of the peer group itself. In fact, these children have a rather negative view of their friends and of themselves as well. They are pessimistic about the future, rate lower in responsibility and leadership, and are more likely to engage in such antisocial behavior as lying, teasing other children, playing hooky, or doing something illegal.

THE ROOTS OF ALIENATION

What we are seeing here, of course, are the roots of alienation and its milder consequences. The more serious manifestations are reflected in the rising rates of youthful runaways, school dropouts, drug abuse, suicide, delinquency, vandalism, and violence documented in charts and tables specially prepared for the White House Conference on Children and more recent Government publications.

According to these data the proportion of youngsters between the ages of 10 and 18 arrested for drug abuse doubled between 1964 and 1968; since 1963, juvenile delinquency has been increasing at a faster rate than the juvenile population; over half the crimes involve vandalism, theft, or breaking and entry; and, if the present trends continue, 1 out of every 9 youngsters will appear in juvenile court before age 18.

These figures index only detected and prosecuted offenses. How high must they run before we acknowledge that they reflect deep and pervasive problems in the treatment of children and youth in our society?

I go on to document what happens when these circumstances become so severe as to make it impossible for the family to function, and in that situation we find the impairment not only in the emotional and social spheres but in the most distinctive human function thinking.

I cite national and State studies on what has been happening to reading, the capacity to read, among schoolchildren in the United States, and what factors are associated with it.

As you know from studies like the Coleman report and the Jencks report, the source of the problem, and the solution, does not seem to lie so much in the schools as, again, in the conditions in which the family lives.

Confirmatory results are available from a New York State survey. In a study of over 300 schools, 50 percent of the variation in student achievement was predicted by three socioeconomic factors—broken homes, overcrowded housing, and education of the head of the household. . . . When the racial and ethnic variables were introduced into the analysis, they accounted for less than an additional 2 percent of the variation.

In this study there is dramatic reversal of the kinds of patterns we used to find as little as a quarter of a century ago, when the poorest readers were to be found in the rural schools and the small towns; and in the big cities was where you found the effective readers. It is exactly the reverse now. You can predict the reading level by community size and school size. The larger they are, the greater the proportion of reading problems.

One of the most striking phenomena in the achievement score data is that over time more and more children throughout the State are falling below minimum competence—I am quoting from the Fleischman report for the State of New York—The figure for the ninth grade in the State of New York is 23 percent.

Senator MONDALE. Did I not just read that in New York City there is a modest reversal of that trend?

Dr. BRONFENBRENNER. I have not seen that. I would be very gratified to know that some dent has been made. I have not seen those statistics.

Let us turn to the crucial question of what can be done.

Mr. Chairman, as my first answer to this question, I ask your indulgence to repeat a statement I made to this subcommittee 2 years ago. At that time I testified as follows:

"We now have the knowledge and the know-how to increase significantly the ability and competence of the next generation of children to be born in this country.

"We know what is needed; we know how it can be done. All that remains is to do the job. At least a dozen nations are doing the job better than we do it now." (Hearings, Subcommittee on Children and Youth, 1971.)

What I can add today, Mr. Chairman, is that we in America not only have the know-how, we have now applied it, and know that it works effectively and on a massive scale. We tried, we succeeded, and just as we were beginning to avert tragedy for thousands of American families, the effort was abandoned precisely at the level with which these hearings are concerned—Federal policy and Federal action.

I know the members of this subcommittee are well aware of the problem to which I refer, but perhaps not of the evidence for its practical solution.

I have documented it in detail in my report. I refer to the consequence of prenatal and paranatal injury, and the beautiful demonstration that has just been completed in the study by the National Academy of Medicine which shows what happens to infant and maternal mortality rates when you provide adequate medical care, here defined only in terms of whether the mother is seen in the early months of pregnancy, nothing about the quality of care.

When there is adequate medical care, there is essentially no difference in infant mortality among white, black, and Puerto Rican groups, even from mothers at high medical risk.

Without adequate medical care, as I report in my written statement, the ratio can be as high as 45 to 1, 45 times as high for black mothers without medical care living in bad housing, than it is for whites.

The variation can occur within a single city. Take the city of New York where infant mortality rates by health district vary from 42 per 1,000 in central Harlem to 13 per 1,000 in Maspeth, Forest Hills.

A colleague of mine, Harold Watts, has done an analysis showing that 92 percent of the variation in infant mortality among the 30 health districts in New York City is accounted for by the variation in average birth weight, and 97 percent of the birth weight variation can be accounted for by the fraction of mothers who received no prenatal care or received care only late in pregnancy, or were unwed at the time of delivery.

To come to the tragic happy ending of this situation. As I believe this committee knows, most of these conditions can be identified at birth. The New York study shows you can spot most of these conditions in the first doctor's visit.

Approximately 95 percent of those mothers at risk had medical or social conditions that could have been identified at the time of the first prenatal visit; infants born to this group of women accounted for 70 percent of the deaths.

What would have happened had these conditions been identified and adequate medical care provided?

We have the answer to that question from an analysis of data from the maternal and infant care projects of HEW in 14 American cities.

In Denver, a dramatic fall in infant mortality from 34.2 per 1,000 live births in 1964 to 21.5 per 1,000 in 1969 was observed for the 25 census tracts that made up the target area for such a program.

In Birmingham, Ala., the rate decreased from 25.4 in 1965 to 14.3 in 1969, and in Omaha from 33.4 in 1964 to 13.4 in 1969. Significant reductions have also occurred, for the populations served by these programs, in prematurity, repeated teenage pregnancy, women who conceive over 35 years old, and families with more than four children.

Mr. Chairman, it is a reflection of our distorted priorities that these programs are currently being dismantled, even though the proposed replacement of support through revenue sharing is not even visible on the horizon. As the statistics I have cited indicate, phasing out these programs with nothing to take their place will result in a return of mortality rates to their earlier higher levels. To speak in human rather than purely statistical terms, more babies will die, and more mothers as well.

Senator MONDALE. We slipped in an amendment on the administration's bill which may help with that.

Dr. BRONFENBRENNER. And it has passed?

Senator MONDALE. Yes.

Dr. BRONFENBRENNER. When was this?

Senator MONDALE. We just did it.

Dr. BRONFENBRENNER. Thank you. You will note at the end of my statement there are two urgent actions that are urged on page 31. The first is this one; the second is to monitor what is happening to programs that are supposed to have been picked up by revenue sharing.

I am pleased that I can scratch No. 1 from the list.

The second area in which we have more knowledge is early intervention. I have summarized for the committee the results of an analysis I conducted as a member of the Advisory Committee on Child Development of the National Academy of Sciences.

To summarize the major findings documented in my written testimony, the majority of these programs are effective only so long as they are in operation. This is true for group preschool program and for tutoring programs. The one exception, the one type of strategy that shows some cumulative effect beyond the end of the program, is what I have called parent-child intervention, in which one works with the family rather than only with the parents or only with the child.

But even here, Mr. Chairman, the families that can be reached with these programs are those who are the least disadvantaged among the disadvantaged.

For many families the circumstances of life are such that they could not possibly begin to cooperate with a visitor who comes in once every 2 weeks. They do not have food, they do not have a place to sleep, they do not have health services, and it is there we need to move in first.

I would mention three other matters hastily and then turn to a conclusion.

We say our schools are to prepare our children for life. Virtually, the only role which we can guarantee is going to be played by everyone is that they are going to be a member of a family. What we now do in our schools to prepare American children for that role is virtually nothing. It is a vicarious business in which they read stories about families, see films, or at most "role play." There is no roletaking.

I would call to your attention what is done in other societies in which older children and teenagers share active responsibility for the care of the young. This can become part of the school curriculum; I have outlined in my statement how it might be accomplished.

Since this is already familiar with my views on day care, I will skip over this subject in my oral testimony and call your attention to a proposal for a Fair Part-Time Practices Act that makes it illegal to discriminate against parents who wish to work part time.

Today, I should like to enter into the record the experience of one legislator who attempted to put through such a bill. Assemblywoman Constance Cook of New York sent me a copy of her bill as introduced in committee. It began: "No employer shall set as a condition of employment, salary, promotion, fringe benefits, seniority" et cetera, the condition that an employee who is parent or guardian of a child under 18 years of age shall be required to work more than "40 hours a week." Yes, Mr. Chairman, you heard me correctly— 40 hours a week which, of course, is full time. Mrs. Cook informed me that there was no hope of getting a bill through with a lower limit.

It turned out that even 40 hours was too much. The bill failed of passage even in committee. The pressure from business and industry was too great. They wanted the right to require the employees to work overtime regardless of parental obligations.

There is, however, a ray of hope. In last night's paper, you may have seen that the Chrysler strike has ended and a contract provision will replace the company's mandatory overtime policy with a somewhat voluntary plan that limits the call on workers to 9 hours a day and two out of three consecutive Saturdays during production periods.

That is a step.

I describe the results of the study in Germany on what happens to children in so-called model cities where the neighborhood is created for the child. It turns out that the children in such model environments are miserable. The study finds that the children gauge their freedom not by the extent of open areas around them, but by the liberty they have to be among people. The children in the older cities, in the so-called slum of old European cities showed a much better adaptation and much more hopeful view of the future.

Finally, by way of summary, I offer a document entitled "The American Family Act of 1974: Suggested Principles and Provisions." The date and the substance represent a compromise between desperation, realism, and hope.

It begins as follows: "The family is the most humane, effective, and economical system of child care known to man." Our programs, therefore, should be family-centered, rather than merely child-centered.

I go on to outline some of the principles that should guide plans and programs. My feeling is that many of these suggestions will need to be modified, but we need something to start from, and it is in that spirit that I present them.

The statement concludes with a series of proposed "family support systems," the first provision being a revision of welfare and work legislation: "No single parent of young children should be forced to work full time or more to provide an income at or below the poverty line."

I propose a series of tax incentive programs available to businesses and industries who provide various kinds of services and opportunities that would strengthen family life.

I go on to underscore a point that has been made repeatedly in these hearings, the importance of family impact assessment. I urge that it be carried on, however, not only in the Congress, where it is essential, but also at every level of government, from the State legislatures down to the counties and the districts, so that in every one of those lawmaking and executive groups there is a subcommittee or a group that says: "What will this decision mean for families?"

There are recommendations on day care, on training programs for child workers, on commissions for family and children, on reasearch, and, one that is particularly important, a family-centered employment policy in the Federal Government.

The Federal Government as an employer should be mandated to set an example by adopting, at least on an experimental basis, the policies and practices proposed in these recommendations.

I have already mentioned my two urgent actions, Mr. Chairman. I should like to close with three statements.

The first I have already made: "The family is the most humane, effective, and economical system of child care known to man."

The second is: With all its strength, the family cannot survive and function in a vacuum. It requires support from the neighborhood, from the world of work, and from social and political institutions at the local, State and national level.

The third is: The future belongs to those nations that are prepared to make and fulfill a primary commitment to their families and their children.

Mr. Chairman, it is strange that we are the only Nation in the world in which we can criticize policies of our land openly and then have nothing done about it. One wonders, you know, when one sees nations like the Soviet Union, or modern China in which these kinds of priorities are top priorities or our allies; England has many of these services; as does France, Switzerland, the Scandanavian countries. These are the democratic open societies. We are behind our allies.

Only by making a commitment to children and families will it be possible to counteract the alienation, distrust, and breakdown of a sense of community that follow in the wake of impersonal technology, urbanization, bureaucratization, and their unplanned, dehumanizing consequences.

As a nation, we have not yet been willing to make that commitment. We continue to measure the worth of our own society, and of other countries as well, by the faceless criterion of the GNP—the gross national product. We continue, in the words of the great American psychologist, William James—to "worship the bitch-goddess Success."

It appears, Mr. Chairman, we are a "stiff-necked people." That phrase calls to mind that the worship of idols is not new in human experience, and its almost inevitable and awesome consequences are a matter of familiar record. Yet the God of Abraham, we will recall, was merciful. He sought to warn his people by lesser calamities before Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed. Or, to translate to our own time and vernacular: "Things may have to get worse before they can get better." If so, Mr. Chairman, we can take heart from the facts and figures I have brought before you; we sure are making progress.

Mr. Chairman, our Nation must make and fulfill the commitment to its families and children before time runs out. Ultimately that commitment must be made and fulfilled by the people themselves. In the last analysis, it is they who must decide to change the institutions which determine how they and their neighbors live—who can get health care for his family, who gets a habitable dwelling in which to live, who gets an opportunity to spend time with one's children, and who gets help and encouragement from individuals and society in the demanding and richly gratifying task of enabling the young to develop into competent and compassionate human beings.

Ultimately, all of us must make this national commitment. But it can begin only where national leadership begins, in the Halls of Congress and in the White House. It is, of course, unlikely that within the next 3 years that commitment will be made at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. It appears to be a long way from there to the lives and hearts of the people, their families, and their children.

The way is surely shorter from here, from these halls, where the representatives of the people gather to serve the people's interest. I have high hope, Mr. Chairman, that the hearings being conducted by this committee will mark the beginning of a new era in the history of the Congress and the country, and that the Senate of the United States, under the leadership of this bipartisan committee, will act in behalf of the people in making a national commitment to meet the needs and realize the tragically unfulfilled potential of our families and our children.

Senator **Mondale.** Thank you very much, Dr. Bronfenbrenner for your characteristically brilliant statement.

We have been at hearings like this. You have participated in many of them. You helped develop the Child Development Act which was vetoed.

Dr. **Bronfenbrenner.** The way is strewn with the corpses.

Senator **Mondale.** We have tried to liberalize and improve Head Start; we have tried to improve Title I funding; we have tried liberalized public service employment programs.

We have tried expending housing programs. Most of that now has been dropped either through vetoes or through impoundments, and while the polls indicate the American people support the programs——

Dr. **Bronfenbrenner.** They do.

Senator **Mondale.** I think we all have to admit that there is blessed little pressure or emergency expressed in today's political environment for the thrust that you recommend.

That calls for some questions about the strategy or the rhetoric or the direction? I sense a great disquiet in this country about where we are going, uncertainty and frustration. What course do you think we might pursue that would restore a sense of purpose and direction and a renewed sense of urgency in these human fields?

Maybe that is what you have just completed saying, but my reaction was here we go again, and that it is not going to work. That is why I keep coming back to issues that Americans feel deeply about which would directly relate to these problems. Work—we are a work oriented society. The poor I think believe in it more than the rich. I have never met anybody on welfare who was not embarrassed by it.

I have seen children in families where they have gotten off welfare, and they are thrilled.

We have a program in Minnesota called HELP where we give welfare mothers a chance to go to college. Their average is higher than the school at large. But, more than that, the magic of the chemistry of the family is absolutely magnificent.

I believe that Americans might be prepared to pursue a fairly vigorous work strategy to provide decent pay, and it may be an instructional component where the people can work. I had in mind not just adults but teenagers.

You talked about the sense of purpose. We just have millions of teenagers standing around who do not know who they are, they do not have any sense of purpose. They do not have any way of being proud of their manhood or their womanhood. They have no money for clothes or anything.

I think with the present value system there is great need for the family and for individual development. The very families that are most under stress are the very families that are also in this crisis of employment and income and poverty and so on. That is not the whole of it, but it is a large proportion of it.

The second thing is the whole question of the cost of raising families. You know our tax system today says if you are Henry Ford, we will help you raise your family by permitting you to take a deduction of $750 per child, and he is able to raise his family in part because of that deduction. To him it means a lot; as a matter of fact it may mean close to $750 because he is at such a high tax bracket.

But if you are a steelworker or autoworker, that means a real tax savings of maybe $150 or $200, depending on what income tax bracket you are in.

So we are giving Henry about $600 of real tax relief to raise his children; we are giving the steelworker maybe $175 to raise his children. How does it make any sense?

Dr. **Bronfenbrenner**. It is a backward system really. I say it is very clear what turns out in these days, if you take any crippling condition, whether it is from birth or from drug abuse or school dropouts or reading rate, the first and most predictive factor is employment or unemployment.

Senator **Mondale**. So you begin with the threshold economics.

Dr. **Bronfenbrenner**. You begin with that.

Senator **Mondale**. Joe E. Brown once said as to economics: I have been rich, and I have been poor. Rich is better. [Laughter.]

I think that there is a lot of strength and loyalty and everything else in this poverty and near poverty sector. But the pressures of just sheer economics destroys a lot of these families. If we had a national program of employment with decent pay, hopefully with a training component; if we had a system of tax relief for families in the child rearing period, so they could better afford to take care of their families and avoid two jobs, and unlimited overtime, so they can be home with the kids once in a while if they wanted to, I think this would provide tremendous dividends to our families, and I suspect we would have very strong public support.

Dr. **Bronfenbrenner**. I would agree. I would agree that the first condition is the condition of employment, but closely related to that is the matter of providing the young people of this country, who have tremendous resources, tremendous desire to commit themselves to something, greater responsibility, opportunity to make that commitment, and nowhere are those responsibilities more real than in relation to the very young, in relation to families in trouble, in relation to the oild and the ill, to patients in hospitals and institutions, and so on.

That is what we ought to do. Such opportunities ought to be a part of the regular school curriculum.

Another of our most important areas has to do with schools. Right now schools are becoming one of the major breeding grounds of alienation in American society.

There is one research program that I was able to find which extended parent involvement programs to the school level. This is in Flint, Mich., and I urge your committee to look into that program.

They did not change any curriculums. These were slum areas in which parents went to each home and said: The teachers need your help. The parents were asked not to teach their kids—teachers do that—but to set aside time for the child to do his homework, let your child read to you.

They gave each family a dictionary and told the parents that the dictionary belonged to the parents, not to the children. They had the parents come in and tell how what the kids were learning in school was important in their own lives. For example, a bus driver would say, I have to make change fast (in Flint they can still carry change on a bus) so I need to know arithmetic.

There was no change in the curriculum, and at the end of that program you had for the first time slum children reading up to grade level through the elementary grades.

The first requirement is clearly the economic one. The second is the recognition by the rest of society of the strength of the family, that you need it in almost every endeavor that you enter, and that by including rather than excluding the family, many of the problems we now face become quite feasible to solve.

After all, we have had a history of human beings, human development, families, for a million years. The family has passed the test of evolutionary survival. Why are we now ceasing to bet on it? It is our best resource.

Senator MONDALE. There is one problem in the economic theory, and that is according to the Census Bureau in the last 20 years the real income, discounting inflation, has doubled, and yet family deterioration seems to be accelerating.

Dr. BRONFENBRENNER. This is why I emphasized two things. First, for whom has that income doubled, the central question; and what can it get you? Can it get you health service, housing, and time to spend with your children?

It is fundamentally true that what one sees happening in the weakest segments of society is also diagnostic of the problems at the heart of that society.

Only a part but a very important part of this problem is economic. There is a big problem as well for middle-class families, a problem for middle-class mothers, a problem for the middle-class school.

We see simply its most severe manifestations among those who are hit hardest. So I do not think it is going to be licked only at the economic level. It has to be licked in terms of the reestablishment of the family as the fundamental unit of a free society, where trust begins, where competence begins, and where commitment to the society begins.

That is why I see business and industry as of fundamental importance here, and I believe there is a sufficient growing concern among business, industry, labor, that we can capitalize on it, if we come to them with the facts and we come to them with practical propositions.

I think the most effective thing, Mr. Chairman, would be if the President of these United States were to make the family the No. 1—how shall I say?—crusade in his campaign.

I do not see that coming for another 3 years, but I think to make the family the focus of national attention is the thing to do because the problem is that serious. When we have wars, when we have depressions, that is what happens. The leadership of the country says, this is it; we have to do it. We cannot do it by little things here, little things there.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much, Doctor.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Brofenbrenner follows; other material supplied by him appears as Item D in the Appendix.]

Testimony before the Senate Sub-Committee on Children and Youth

Urie Bronfenbrenner[1]
Cornell University
September 25, 1973

Mr. Chairman, two years ago, at the first hearings conducted by this Subcommittee, I presented evidence of what I viewed as a disturbing trend in the position and prospects of the American family and its children. I then went on to speak with some optimism of policies and programs -- some already in force, others clearly on the horizon -- which could counteract the trend, and perhaps even reverse it.

I appear before you today a more sober man. The disturbing trend to which I called the Committee's attention has increased, and so has the evidence for its course and its consequences. But I can claim poor credit as a prophet, for the policies and programs that I saw on the horizon have turned out to be not a rising sun, but a falling star, barely perceptible by its now cold, reflected light.

I speak today, perhaps not with optimism, but yet with hope. For as we have gained more knowledge about our growing problems, we have learned more as well about their possible solution. Some of these solutions lie within the purvey of the Federal government, not only directly through its legislative and executive powers, but also indirectly through its influence as a voice of national leadership and, I would add, by example, as the nation's top employer and administrator.

But first, I will speak to the broader issue to which these hearings are addressed: trends and pressures affecting American families.

The Winds of Change. The most important fact about the American family today is the fact of rapid and radical change. The American family of 1973 is significantly different from what it was only a quarter of a century ago. Witness the following statistics:

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* In 1971, 43 percent of the nation's mothers worked outside the home. In 1948, the figure was only 18 percent. The greatest increase has occurred for mothers of preschool children. One in every three mothers with children under six is working today. In 1948 the figure was one in eight. Now there are more than 5,600,000 children under six whose mothers are in the labor force. This figure represents over a quarter of all the nation's children under six years of age.

* As more mothers go to work, the number of other adults in the family who could care for the child has shown a marked decrease. For example, fifty years ago in the state of Massachusetts, 50 percent of the households included at least one other adult besides the parent. Today the figure is only 4 percent.

* The divorce rate among families with children has been rising substantially during the last twenty years. The percent of children from divorced families is almost double what it was a decade ago. If present rates continue, one child in six will lose a parent through divorce by the time he is 18.

* In 1970, 10 percent of all children under six -- 2.2 million of them -- were living in single parent families with no father present in the home. This is almost double the rate for a decade ago. Moreover, almost half of the mothers in single parent families are now in the labor force, and a third of them are working full-time.

* In 1970, the average income for a single-parent family with children under six was $3100 -- well below the poverty line. Even when the mother worked, her average income of $4200 barely exceeded the poverty level. Among families in poverty, 45 percent of all children under six are living

in single-parent households; in non-poverty families, the corresponding figure is only 3.5 percent.

* Of the 5.6 million preschool children whose mothers are in the labor force, one million live in families below the poverty line (e.g. income below $4000 for a family of four). An additional one million children of working mothers live in near poverty (income between $4000 and $7000 for a family of four). All of these children would have to be on welfare if the mother did not work. Finally there are about 2.5 million children under six whose mothers do not work, but where family income is below the poverty level. Without counting the many thousands of children in families above the poverty line who are in need of child care services, this makes a total of about 4.5 million children under six whose families need some help if normal family life is to be sustained.

The situation is especially critical for the families of Black Americans:

* Of all Black children, over half (53 percent) live in families below the poverty line; the corresponding figure for Whites is 11 percent.

* Of all Black children, almost half (44 percent) have mothers who are in the labor force; the corresponding figure for Whites is about a quarter (26 percent).

* Of all Black children, over 30 percent live in single-parent families; the corresponding figure for Whites is 7 percent.

The census does not provide comparable information for other groups living under duress, such as American Indians, Mexican Americans, Whites living in Appalachia, etc. If and when such data become available, they are likely to show similar trends.

> " Among families that are intact and well-off economically, and, of course, predominately White, research results indicate that parents are spending less time in activity with their children.

For example, a survey of changes in childrearing practices in the United States over a 25-year period reveals a decrease in all spheres of interaction between parent and child. A similar trend is indicated by data from cross-cultural studies comparing American families with their European counterparts. Thus in a comparative study of socialization practices among German and American parents, the former emerged as significantly more involved in activities with their children, including both affection and discipline. A second study, conducted several years later, showed changes over time in both cultures reflecting "a trend toward the dissolution of the family as a social system," with Germany moving closer to the American pattern of "centrifugal forces pulling the members into relationships outside the family." (Rodgers, 1971)

THE ECOLOGY OF FAMILY AND CHILD. Although the nature and operation of these centrifugal forces have not been studied systematically, they are readily apparent to observers of the American scene. The following excerpt from the report of the President's White House Conference on Children summarizes the situation as seen by a group of experts, including both scientists and practitioners.

> In today's world parents find themselves at the mercy of a society which imposes pressures and priorities that allow neither time nor place for meaningful activities and relations between children and adults, which downgrade the role of parents and the functions of parenthood, and which prevent the parent from doing things he wants to do as a guide, friend, and companion to his children...

> The frustrations are greatest for the family of poverty where the capacity for human response is crippled by hunger, cold, filth, sickness, and despair. For families who can get along, the rats are gone, but the rat-race remains. The demands of a job, or often two jobs, that claim mealtimes, evenings, and weekends as well as days; the trips and moves necessary to get ahead or simply hold one's own; the ever increasing time spent in commuting, parties, evenings out, social and community obligations -- all the things one has to do to meet so-called primary responsibilities -- produce a situation in which a child often spends more time with a passive babysitter than a participating parent. (Report to the President, 1970, p. 242)

The forces undermining the parental role are particularly strong in the case of fathers. For example, although in one interview study of middle class families fathers reported spending an average of 15 to 20 minutes a day playing with their one year old infants (Ban and Lewis 1971), an observational research revealed a rather different story:

> The data indicate that fathers spend relatively little time interacting with their infants. The mean number of interactions per day was 2.7, and theaverage number of seconds per day was 37.7. (Rebelsky and Hanks, 1971, page 65)

Another factor reducing interaction between parents and children is the changing physical environment in the home. For example, a brochure recently received in the mail describes a "cognition crib" equipped with a tape recorder that can be activated by thesound of the infant's voice. In addition, frames built into the sides of the crib permit insertion of "programmed play nodules for sensory and physical practice." The modules come in sets of six, which the parent is "encouraged to change" every three months so as to keep pace with the child's development. Since "faces are what an infant sees first, six soft plastic faces...adhere to the window." Other modules include mobiles, a crib aquarium, a piggy bank and "ego building mirrors." Parents are hardly mentioned except as potential purchasers.

Although no systematic evidence is available, there are indications that a withdrawal of adults from the lives of children is also occurring outside the home. To quote again from the report of the White House Conference:

> In our modern way of life, it is not only parents of whom children are deprived, it is people in general. A host of factors conspire to isolate children from the rest of society. The fragmentation of the extended family, the separation of residential and business areas, the disappearance of neighborhoods, zoning ordinances, occupational mobility, child labor laws, the abolishment of the apprentice system, consolidated schools, television, separate patterns of social life for different age groups, the working mother, the delegation of child care to specialists -- all these manifestations of progress operate to decrease opportunity and incentive for meaningful contact between children and persons older, or younger, than themselves. (Report of Forum 15, page 2)

This erosion of the social fabric isolates not only the child but also his family. In particular, with the breakdown of community, neighborhood, and the extended family, and the rise in the number of father-absent homes, increasingly greater responsibility has fallen on the young mother. In some segments of the society, the resulting pressures appear to be mounting beyond the point of endurance. For example, the growing number of divorces is now accompanied by a new phenomenon: the unwillingness of either parent to take custody of the child. And in more and more families, the woman is fleeing without waiting for the mechanism of a legal or even agreed upon separation. Increasing numbers of married women are being reported to police departments as missing. Although no national statistics are available, news media have reported a "quantum leap" in the number of runaway wives whom private detectives are hired to retrieve by the fathers who are left with the children.

Systematic data are at hand, however, to document an increase in a more gruesome trend.

> The killing of infants under 1 year of age -- infanticide -- has been increasing since 1957. Although the number of infant homicides accounted for only 2.2 percent of the total homicides in 1964, the rate of 5.4 deaths per 100,000 population was higher than that for all persons aged 55 years and over. The 74 percent increase from 3.1 in 1957 placed infanticide in 1964 at the highest level recorded since 1945. (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1967)

This increase may, of course, be partly due to more accurate registration; no tests of the extent of underreporting of this cause of death have been made. It should be noted that the rate of increase of such deaths is significantly greater than for all other age groups.

A similar pattern appears for less violent forms of child abuse involving bodily injury. A recent survey of over 1300 families (Gil 1970) estimated 2 to 4 million cases a year, with the highest rates occurring for the adolecent age group. More significantly, over 90 percent of the incidents took place in the child's home. The most severe injuries occurred in single parent homes and were inflicted by the mother herself, a fact which reflects the desperation of the situation faced by some young mothers today.

Even in intact families the centrifugal forces generated within the family by its increasingly isolated position have propelled its members in different directions. As parents, especially mothers, spend more time in work and community activities, children are placed in or gravitate to group settings, both organized and informal. For example, between 1965 and 1970 the number of children enrolled in day care centers doubled, and the demand today far exceeds the supply. Outside preschool or school, the child spends increasing amounts of time solely in the company of his age mates. The vacuum created by the withdrawal of parents and other adults has been filled by the informal peer group. A recent study has found that at every age and grade level, children today show a greater dependency on their peers than they did a decade ago. A parallel investigation indicates that such susceptibility to group influence is higher among children from homes in which one or both parents are frequently absent. In addition, "peer oriented" youngsters describe their parents as less affectionate and less firm in discipline. Attachment to age-mates appears to be influenced more by a lack of attention and concern at home then by any positive attraction of the peer group itself. In fact, these children have a rather negative view of their friends and of themselves as well. They are pessimistic about the future, rate lower in responsibility and leadership, and are more likely to engage in such anti-social behavior as lying, teasing other children, "playing hooky," or "doing something illegal." (Siman 1973)

The Roots of Alienation. What we are seeing here, of course, are the roots of alienation and its milder consequences. The more serious manifestations are reflected in the rising rates of youthful runaways, school drop-outs, drug abuse, suicide, delinquency, vandalism, and violence documented in charts and tables specially prepared for the White House Conference on Children (Profiles of Children, pp. 78, 79, 108, 179, 180) and more recent government publications (Report of the New York State Commission, 1973). According to these data the proportion of youngsters between the ages of 10 and 18 arrested for drug abuse doubled between 1964 and 1968; since 1963, juvenile delinquency has been increasing at a faster rate than the juvenile population; over half the crimes involve valndalism, theft, or breaking and entry; and, if the present trends continue, one out of every nine youngsters will appear in juvenile court before age 18. These figures index only detected and prosecuted offenses. How high must they run before we acknowledge that they reflect deep and pervasive problems in the treatment of children and youth in our society?

What is the ultimate source of these deep and pervasive problems? Where do the roots of alienation lie? Scientific studies of human behavior have yielded few generalizations that are firmly grounded in research and broadly accepted by specialists in the field. But there are two answers to the foregoing questions that do meet these exacting criteria. Moreover, the two conclusions are directly relevant to the concerns of this Committee.

1. Over the past three decades, there have been literally thousands of investigations conducted to identify the developmental antecedents of behavior disorders and social pathology. The results of these researches point to the almost omnipresnet overriding factor - family disorganization.

2. Many of these same researches also reveal that the forces of disorganization arise primarily not from within the family itself, but from the circumstances in which the family finds itself and the way of life which these circumstances, in turn, impose.

Specifically, when these circumstances, and the way of life which they generate, undermine relationships of trust and emotional security between the family members, when they make it difficult for parents to care for, educate, and enjoy their children, when there is no support or recognition from the outside world for one's role as a parent, and when time spent with one's family means frustration of career, personal fulfillment, and peace of mind - it is then that the development of the child becomes adversely affected. The first symptoms occur in the emotional and motivational sphere and are manifested in disaffection, indifference, irresponsibility, and inability to follow through in activities requiring application and persistence. In less favorable family circumstances, the reaction takes the form of antisocial acts injurious to both self and society. Finally, for children who come from environments in which the capacity of the family to function has been most severely traumatized by such destructive forces as poverty, ill health, and discrimination, the consequences for the child are seen not only in the spheres of emotional and social maladjustment, but also in the impairment of that most distinctive human capacity - the ability to think, to deal with concepts and numbers even at the most elementary level. The extent of this impairment in contemporary American society, and its roots in social disorganization, are reflected in recent studies conducted at national and state levels. Two reports from the National Health Survey describe intellectual development and school achievement as a function of demographic and socioeconomic factors in a probability sample of over 7000 children 6-11 years of age. Differences were assessed across region, race, size of place of residence, degree of educational mobility, income, and parents' education. Although substantial variation was found across each of these domains, the most powerful predictors of school achievement were parental education and income.

> Proficiency in two skills -- reading and arithmetic -- was most strongly associated with educational level of the children's parents and nearly as closely with their family income. These relationships are both substantially greater than that found with race. If the racial and regional influences are removed, the degree of association of school factors is reduced only slightly. (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1971, page 26)

Confirmatory results are available from a New York State survey. In a study of over 300 schools,

> 58% of the variation in student achievement was predicted by three socioeconomic factors -- broken homes, overcrowded housing, and education of the head of the household...When the racial and ethnic variables were introduced into the analysis, they accounted for less than an additional 2 percent of the variation. (New York State Commission on the Quality of Education, Vol. 1, p. 33)

And there is a secular trend.

> One of the most striking phenomena in the achievement score data is that over time more and more children throughout the state are falling below minimum competence.[1] (Idem.)

How are we to reverse this debilitating trend? Again, the evidence indicates that the most promising solutions do not lie within the immediate setting in which the child is found, in this instance, the classroom and the school. An impressive series of investigations, notably the studies by Coleman (1966) and more recently by Jencks (1972) demonstrate that characteristics of schools, of classrooms, and even of teachers predict very little of the variation in school achievements. What does predict are family background characteristics, particularily those which reflect the position of the family in relation to the larger social contexts in which is is embeded - the world of work (e.g. occupation, income), neighborhood and community.

The crucial question thus becomes: can our social insitutions be changed, can old ones be modified and new ones introduced in such a way as to rebuild and revitalize the social context which families and children require for their effective function and growth?

A Proved Strategy for Conserving Human Potential. Mr. Chairman, as my first answer to this question, I ask your indulgence to repeat a statement I made to this Sub-Committee two years ago. At that time I testified as follows:

> We now have the knowledge and the know-how to increase significantly the ability and competence of the next generation of children to be born in this country.
>
> We know what is needed, we know how it can bedone. All that remains is to do the job. At least a dozen nations are doing the job better than we do it now.
>
> (Hearings, Sub-committee on Children and Youth, 1971)

What I can add today, Mr. Chairman, is that we in America not only have the know-how, we have now applied it, and know that it works effectively and on a massive scale. We tried, we succeeded, and, just as we were beginning to avert tragedy for thousands of American families, the effort was abandoned -- precisely at the level with which these hearings are concerned -- Federal policy and Federal action.

I know the members of this Sub-Committee are well aware of the problem to which I refer, but perhaps not of the evidence for its practical solution. America, the richest and most powerful country in the world, stands thirteenth among the nations in combating infant mortality; even East Germany does better. Moreover, our ranking has dropped steadily in recent decades. A similar situation obtains with respect to maternal and child health, day care, children's allowances, and other basic services to children and families.

But the figures for the nation as a whole, dismaying as they are, mask even greater inequities. For example, infant mortality for non-whites in the United States is almost twice that for whites, the maternal death rate is four times as high, and there are a number of southern states, and northern metropolitan areas, in which the ratios are considerably higher. Among New York City health districts, for example, the infant mortality rate in 1966-67 varied from 41.5 per 1000 in Central Harlem to 13 per 1000 in Maspeth, Forest Hills.

Ironically, of greater cost to the society than infants who die are the many more who sustain injury but survive with disability. Many of these suffer impaired intellectual function and behavioral disturbance including hyperactivity, distractability, and low attention span, all factors contributing to school retardation and problem behavior. Again, the destructive impact is greatest on the poorest segments of the population. It is all the moretragic that this massive damage and its subsequent cost in reduced productivity, lower income, unemployability, welfare payments, and institutionalisation are avoidable.

The way to the solution is suggested by a paradox that emerges when the medical data are analysed in the socio-economic terms. The relation between birth complications and subsequent impairment of psychological development is indeed substantial for families in poverty, but is much smaller for middle class samples. The analyses show further that the same prenatal complication has substantially more serious sequellae for a child born in a low income family than a middle income family. In other words, the consequences of prenatal injury depend less on the injury itself than on the treatment the child receives. And the treatment in turn depends on the circumstances in which the family live.

This same sequence is reflected by the results of the two-stage analysis carried out by Dr. Harold Watts for the Advisory Committee on Child Development of the National Academy of Sciences. First, Watts demonstrated that 92% of the variation in infant death among the 30 New York City health districts is explainable by low birth weight. Second, he showed that 97% of the variation in low birth weight can be attributed to the fraction of mothers who received no prenatal care or received care only late in thier pregnancy, and the fraction unwed at the time of delivery.

Confirmatory evidence is available from an important and elegant study, published just this year, on the relations between infant mortality, social and medical risk, and health care (Kessner et al. 1973). From an analysis of data in 140,000 births in New York City, the investigators found the following:

1. The highest rate of infant mortality was for children of Black native-born women at social and medical risk and with inadequate health care. This rate was 45 times higher than that for a group of White mothers at no risk with adequate care. Next in line were Puerto Rican infants with a rate 22 times as high.

2. Among mothers receiving adequate medical care, there was essentially no difference in mortality among White, Black, and Puerto Rican groups, even for mothers at high medical risk.

3. For mothers at socio-economic risk, however, adequate medical care substantially reduced infant mortality rates for all races, but the figures for Black and Puerto Rican families were still substantially greater than those for Whites. In other words, other factors besides inadequate medical care contribute to producing the higher infant mortality for these non-white groups. Again these factors have to do with the social and economic conditions in which these families have to live. Thus, the results of the New York City study and other investigations point to the following characteristics as predictive of higher infant mortality: employment status of the breadwinner, mother unwed at infant's birth, married but no father in the home, number of children per room, mother under 20 or over 35, and parents' educational level.

4. Approximately 95% of those mothers at risk had medical or social conditions that could have been identified at the time of the first prenatal visit; infants born to this group of women accounted for 70% of the deaths.

What would have happened had these conditions been identified and adequate medical care provided? The answer to this question has recently become available from an analysis of data from the Maternal and Infant Care Projects of HEW which, in the middle 60's, were established in slum areas of fourteen cities across the nation and in Puerto Rico. In Denver, a dramatic fall in infant mortality from 34.2 per 1,000 live births in 1964 to 21.5 per 1,000 in 1969 was observed for the 25 census tracts that made up the target area for such a program. In Birmingham, Alabama, the rate decreased from 25.4 in 1965 to 14.3 in 1969, and in Omaha from 33.4 in 1964 to 13.4 in 1969. Significant reductions have also occurred over the populations served by these programs in prematurity, repeated teenage pregnancy, women who conceive over 35 years old, and families with more than four children.

Mr. Chairman, it is because of our distorted priorities that these programs are currently being dismantled, even though the proposed replacement of support through revenue sharing is not even visible on the horizon. As the statistics I have cited indicate, phasing out these programs with nothing to take their place will result in a return of mortality rates to their earlier higher levels. To speak in human rather than purely statistical terms, more babies will die, and more mothers as well.

Is Early Intervention Effective. New information is available as well in a second problem area substantially affected by Federal policy. In connection with my work as a member of the NRC-NAS Advisory Committee on Child Development, I had the responsibility of preparing a report evaluating the effectiveness of so-called intervention programs that have been conducted with thousads of preschool children over the past decade (Bronfenbrenner 1973). As the Committee knows, these programs were introduced in an effort to counteract the destructive impact of poverty on the development of the young. In a number of instances, children were followed-up for three to five yars after completion of intervention in order to assess long-range effects. The scientific interest of these studies is enhanced by the fact they employed strategies varying in the degree to which they involved the child alone, solely his parents, or some combination of both. Specifically, four types of intervention were examined:

1. Parent education. Here the immediate and direct focus of attention was the parent, usually the mother. The program typically took the form of a lecture or discussion, usually accompanied by printed materials. Also included were parent education efforts presented entirely via mass media (press, radio or television).

2. Group preschool programs. The target of intervention was the child in a group setting, with a ratio of at least four children to one adult.

3. Home-based tutoring. A tutor visited the child in his home on an individual basis.

4. Parent-child intervention. This approach involved working with parent and child simultaneously, usually in the home.

Each of these approaches was evaluated for its influence on the child's cognitive development. From this perspective, one strategy -- that of parent education -- proved generally ineffective. There was no evidence that informational programs directed solely at the parent had any appreciable impact on the child's intellectual function or academic performance.

Both group programs and home tutoring produced gains in cognitive development (as measured by intelligence and achievement tests), but the effects were temporary only. By the first or second year after completion of the program, sometimes while it was still in operation, the children began to show a progressive decline and, by the third or fourth year, the once-substantial differences between experimental and control groups became negligible or nonexistent. In contrast, parent-child intervention produced substantial improvements in intellectual function which were still evident three to four years after termination of the program. In addition, beneficial effects were observed not only in the target child but also his younger siblings.

An analysis of research on conditions underlying impairment of development and failure of intervention efforts with particular individuals or groups led to a general conclusion with important policy implications: Any force or circumstance which interferes with the formation, maintenance, status, or continuing development of the parent-child system in turn jeopardizes the development of the child.

Such destructive forces may be of two kinds. The first and most damaging are externally imposed constraints, such as inadequate health care, poor housing, lack of education, low income, and, under certain circumstances, the necessity for full-time work, all factors which prevent the parents from doing what they might be quite able and willing to do given the opportunity and the knowledge. Second, there are social forces and educational arrangements that diminish the status and motivation of parents as the most powerful potential agents for the development of their child.

Evidence in support of these conclusions comes from several sources:

1. The children who showed the greatest initial impairment of psychological development were those from the most deprived social and economic backgrounds. Especially relevant in this regard were such variables as the employment status of the head of the household, the number of children in the family, the level of parent's income and education, and the presence of only one parent in the home.

2. The children from these same backgrounds were also those who profitted least from intervention programs provided for them, and showed the earliest and most rapid decline. Conversely, children benefitting most from compensatory effects were those who came from the least deprived social and economic conditions.

3. The success of intervention efforts was positively correlated with the

degree to which parents were accorded high status and actively involved in the program. When primary responsibility for the child's development was assumed by professionals and the parent relegated to a secondary role, the intervention was less effective, particularly with respect to long-term effects.

4. Although group programs _per se_ did not have lasting impact, exposure to parent intervention during, and especially prior to, enrollment in preschool or school resulted in greater and more enduring gains achieved in the group setting.

5. Families willing to become involved in intervention programs tended to come from the upper levels of the disadvantaged population. At the most deprived levels, parents were so overburdened with the tasks and frustrations of sheer survival that they had neither the energy nor the psychological resources necessary to participate in an intervention program designed to benefit their children.

The foregoing findings indicate that for children from the most deprived environments no strategy of intervention is likely to be effective that focuses attention solely on the child, the preschool, or the parent-child relationship. The critical forces of destruction lie neither within the child nor within his family but in the desperate circumstances in which the family is forced to live. Accordingly, what is called for is intervention at the _ecological level_, measures that will effect radical changes in the immediate environmentof the family and the child. Such measures include provision of health services, adequate housing, opportunity for employment, and an income sufficient to sustain life and growth. It is significant that the [illegible].R.C. Committee could find no research bearing on the effects of ecological intervention of this kind on the developmnt of children. It is conceivable that a program which provides the family breadwinner with a job, guarantees an adequate income, supplies needed nutrition and health services, or furnishes better housing, may produce greater and more enduring gains in cognitive development than are presently achieved by strategies directly aimed at this objective. We do not know whether this is so, but could easily find out simply by adding well designed research components to a number or existing Federal, state, or local programs.

The studies I have been discussing document the importance of what I have called family support systems for increasing the development in the preschool years. What about the school-age child? Does the faily, and its supportive systems, still play the critical role in the child's development?

Breaking Down the Wall between Home and School. I believe it significant that in review of research, I was able to find only one study that examined the relation of parent involvement to the child's learning in schol. The project, carried out in Flint, Michigan, involved approximately 1000 children from low-income families, most of them Black, attending two public elementary schools (Smith 1968). Children of similar socio-economic background in another elementary school were selected as a control group. The effort involved parents in activities both at home and in the school.

On the home front, parents, including fathers, were requested to read aloud to their children, listen to their children read, read regularly themselves in the presence of their children, show interest by looking at the child's work, and give encouragement and praise as needed and deserved. In addition, parents were asked to provide a quiet period in the home for reading and study. During this time the television or radio was to be turned off, telephone callers were asked to phone back later. Parents were requested to occupy the attention of younger children. The parents were not asked to hlep the child with homework; instead, they were informed that the teacher would be checking with them on whether the child did his work rather than how well the task was done. "Every child could therefore be successful, provided that his parents were giving the needed support at home." (Smith 1968, p. 97) A children's dictionary was also made available to each family with a child in grades four through six. Families were asked to write their names in the dictionary and encourage its use. Many other innovations were introduced to provide support in thehome for the child's activities ar school.

The program also brought the parents into the school. This was accomplished by a group of thirty volunteer mothers who assigned themselves specific blocks in the school district and made a personal call on every family inviting the parents to a program "to learn what they could do to help their children achieve better in school." (Smith 1968, p. 95) In addition, parents and other residents of the neighborhood who held skilled jobs were asked to visit classrooms in order to expalin their work and to indicate how "elementary school subjects had been important to them in thier lives." (Smith 1968, p. 102)

The results of the program are reflected by the gains in achievement test scores in reading made during the year by the experimental groups. For the first time in their school career, the children attained and, in some grades, surpassed the national norms.

Real Children and Families in the School Curriculum. The relation between family and school has significance in yet another quarter. It is a commonplace among educators to affirm that the task of the school is to prepare the child "for life". Yet there is one role in life which the overwhelming majority of all children ultimately take, but for which they are given virtually no concrete preparation. I am referring, of course, to education for parenthood. In our cross-cultural observations we were struck by the differences between American children and adolescents and those from other societies in the ease with which they could relate to infants and young children, engage their interest, and enjoy their company. This reflects the fact that with the important exceptions of certain minority groups, including Blacks - many young people, especially males, never have experience in extended care and activity with a baby or young child until they have their own. A solution to this problem, which speaks as well to the need to give young people in our society genuine and consequential responsibility, is to introduce into the regular school curriculum _functional_ courses in human development. These would be distinguished in a number of important ways from courses or units on "family life", as they are now usually taught in the junior high school, chiefly for girls who do not plan to go on to college. The material is typically presented in vicarious form; that is, through reading, discussion, or at most, through role playing, rather than actual role taking. In contrast, the approach being proposed here would have as its core responsible and active concern for the lives of young children and their families. Such an experience could be facilitated by locating day care centers and Head Start Programs in or near schools, so that they could be utilized as an integral part of the curriculum. The older children would be working with the younger ones on a regular basis, both at school and at home. They would thus have an opportunity to become acquainted with the younger children's families, and the circumstances in which they live. This in turn would provide a vitalizing context for the study of services and facilities available to children and families in the community, such as health care, social services, recreation facilities, and of course, the schools themselves. Obviously, the scope of responsibility would increase with the age of the child, but throughout there would have to be adequate supervision and clear delineation of the limits of responsibility carried by older children in relation to the young.

Critical Contexts for the Future of the American Family. Health services and education are two of the many institutions which must serve as support systems for the family. Others include day care, the world of work, mass media, transportation, architecture, and urban planning. I have touched on most of these matters in testimony before this sub-committee two years ago. More recent developments in these areas are discussed in an article published last year, entitled "The Roots of Alienation", a copy of which I would be happy to submit as an addendum to this report. There are one or two aspects of these matters which because of their controversial or novel nature merit specific mention here. The first of these is day care.

Day Care. Day care is coming to America. The question is: what kind? Shall we, in response to external pressures to "put people to work", or for personal considerations of convenience, allow a pattern to develop in which the care of young children is delegated to specialists, thus further separating the child from his family and reducing the family's and the community's feeling of responsibility for their children? Or, shall our modern day care be designed, as it can be, to reinvolve and strengthen the family as the primary and proper agent for the process of making human beings human?

The answers to these questions depend on the extent to which day care programs are so located and so organized as to encourage rather than to discourage the involvement of parents and other non-professionals in the development and operation of the program both at the center and in the home. Like Project Head Start, day care programs can have no lasting constructive impact on the development of the child unless they affect not only the child himself but the people who constitute his enduring day-to-day environment in the family, neighborhood, and community. This means not only that parents must play a prominent part in the planning and administration of day care programs, but that they must also actively participate in the execution of the progam as volunteers and aides. It means that the program cannot be confined to the center, but must reach out into the home and the community so that the whole neighborhood is caught up in activities in behalf of its children. From this point of view, we need to experiment in location of day care centers in places that are within reach of the significant people in the child's life. For some families this means neighborhood centers; for others, centers at the place of work. A great deal of variation and innovation will be required to find the appropriate solutions for different groups in different settings.

Fair Part-time Practices Act. In my previous testimony I presented a proposal for an act prohibiting discrimination against parents who sought or held part-time jobs. Today I should like to enter into the record the instructive experience of one state legislator who attempted to put through such a bill, the Honorable Constance Cook, Assemblywoman from New York. Mrs. Cook sent me a copy of her Bill as introduced in committee . It began "no employer shall set as a condition of employment, salary, promotion, fringe benefits, seniority, ..." etc. the condition that an employee who is parent or guardian of a child under 18 years of age shall be required to work more than "forty hours a week". Yes, Mr. Chairman, you heard me correctly - forty hours a week, which, of course, is full time. Mrs. Cook informed me that there was no hope of getting a bill through with a lower limit.

It turned out that even forty hours was too much. The bill failed of passage even in committee. The pressure from business and industry was too great. They wanted the right to require their employees to work overtime.

There is, however, a ray of hope. It is my understanding that a critical issue in the present strike against the Chrysler Corporation, and one on which the union is taking a strong position is precisely this question of compulsory overtime.

Families and neighborhoods. I should also like to enter into the record the results of a research conducted in Germany which sheds light on the influence of the neighborhood on the lives of children and families. The study compared the actions of children living in 18 new "model communities" with those from youngsters living in older German cities. The research was conducted by the Urban and Planning Institute in Nuremberg in collaboration with the Institute of Psychology at the Univeristy of Erlangen-Nuremberg. The following are excerpts from a special bulletin to the New York Times (May 9, 1971):

> In the new towns of West Germany, amid soaring rectangular shapes of apartment houses with shaded walks, big lawns and fenced-in play areas, the children for whom much of this has been designed apparently feel isolated, regimented and bored ...
>
> The study finds that the children gauge their freedom not by the extent of open areas around them, but by the liberty they have to be among people and things that excite them and fire their imaginations ...
>
> Children in the older cities seemed enthusiastic about their surroundings, painting a great amount of detail into a variety of things they found exciting around them, according to those who interpreted their art.
>
> The children in the model communities often painted what were considered despairing pictures of the world the adults had fashioned for them, depicting an uninviting, concrete fortress of cleanliness and order and boredom.

The implications of the research are self evident. In the planning and design of new communities, housing projects, and urban renewal, the planners, both public and private, need to give explicit consideration to the kind of world that is being created for the children who will be growing up in these settings. Particular attention should be given to the opportunities which the environment presents or precludes for involvement of children with persons both older and younger than themselves. Among the specific factors to be considered are the location of shops and businesses where children could have contact with adults at work, recreational and day care facilities readily accessible to parents as well as children, provision for a family neighborhood center and family oriented facilities and services, availability of public transportation, and, perhaps most importnat of all, places to walk, sit, and talk in common company.

It is perhaps fitting to end discussion of this matter with a proposal for nothing more radical than providing a setting in which young and old can simply sit and talk. The fact that such settings are disappearing and have to be deliberately recreated points both to the roots of the problem and its remedy. The evil, and the cure, lie not with the victims of alienation but in the social institutions which produce it, and their failure to be responsive to the most human needs and values of our democratic society.

What are the implications of these kinds of considerations for the work of your committee? I offer my recommendations in the form of a document entitled the "American Family Act of 1974: Suggested Principles and Provisions". The date and the substance, Mr. Chairman, represent a compromise between desperation, realism, and hope.

The American Family Act of 1974

Suggested Principles and Provisions

A. Principles

1. The family is the most humane, effective, and economical system of child care known to man. The first aim of any child care program, therefore, should be to strengthen the family and enable the parents to function as parents for their children. This can be best accomplished by providing a variety of support systems for the family in the home, neighborhood, place of work, and community.

2. All programs should be family-centered rather than merely child-centered. This means service to parents as well as to children, and opportunity for the involvement of parents in the planning and execution of programs both within and outside the home. Research results indicate that where programs have involved families as a whole there is greater likelihood of lasting effect beyond the duration of the program itself, with an impact not only on the target child but other children in the family as well. Also such programs tend to be more economical because of the greater participation of family members in the work of the program.

3. During the first six years of life, particularly during the first three, an enduring one-to-one relationship is especially important for the child's development. For this reason special encouragement should be given to arrangements which permit one of the two parents to work part-time. In particular, welfare eligibility requirements should not discriminate against families in which one or both parents are working part-time rather than full-time.

4. Many families today are unable to function effectively to meet the needs of their children because of circumstances beyond their control. The

principal debilitating factor is poverty. Others include reduction of the family to only two adults, or, in many instances, only a single parent; the involvement of both parents in full-time jobs; working on different shifts; the social isolation of families - especially the mother - because of the breakdown of neighborhoods. Measures designed to alleviate these conditions can contribute in reenabling parents to function more effectively. Hence such measures should become a part of any comprehensive child care program, especially because they are more economical in the long run.

5. In addition to the parents, other persons can play a significant role both in relation to the child himself and in providing support to those primarily engaged in his care, especially to the mother. The most important persons in this regard are other family members such as grandparents, aunts, uncles, older brothers and sisters, but also neighbors, friends, teachers, social workers, and other professionals. Finally, the research evidence also points to the powerful impact of older children on the development of the young. Therefore, both on psychological and economic grounds, an effective child care program should utilize and encourage the involvement of other adults and older children in the care of the young.

6. To be effective, programs must be comprehensive in nature not only in relation to the needs of the child but also those of his family in the areas of health, education, and social services. For example, the most effective and economical measure to insure the health of the child may often be to meet the health problems of his parents, or of other sick, handicapped, or aged family members who sap the parents' strength and resources.

7. Families live in widely differing circumstances. Any program of child care services must therefore supply a variety of options. In accordance with this principle, child care services should not be limited to group day care provided outside the home.

E. "Family Support Systems"

1. Revision of Welfare and Work Legislation

No single parent of young children should be forced to work full time or more to provide an income at or below the poverty line. The statement applies with equal force to families in which both parents are compelled to work full time or longer to maintain a minimal subsistence level. Under such circumstnaces, a parent wishing to do so should be enabled to remain at home for part of the day. The following measures could help achieve this objective:

a. Welfare legislation should be amended so as to encourage rather than penalize low income parents, especially single parents, who wish to work only part-time in order to be able themselves to care for their own children.

b. To free parents in poverty from full-time employment so that one of them can care for the children. Federal and state programs should provide funds for part-time parental child care at home in lieu of wages.

c. There should be legal prohibition against unlimited compulsory overtime for parents with young children.

d. Federal or state legislatures should pass Fair Part-Time Employment Practices Acts prohibiting discromination in job opportunity, rate of pay, seniority, fringe benefits and job status for parents who seek or are engaged in part-time employment.

2. Incentive Programs

a. Tax incentives should be extended to businesses and industries who set up family and child services for their employees such as day care programs, part-time work opportunities, flexible working hours, special programs designed to acquaint children and young people with the world of work, etc. In particular, employers should be encouraged through tax benefits to modify work schedules so as to enable parents to be home when their children return from preschool or school thus decreasing the need for babysitters during the child's waking hours or for "latchkey" arrangements for older children.

b. Special incentives should be provided for the development of neighborhood and community-wide programs benefiting families and children, especially on a non-age-segregated basis.

d. Incentives should be offered to groups responsible for the design of neighborhoods, housing projects, apartment complexes, churches, industrial sites, urban renewal projects, etc. to provide for the needs of children and families in the planning of these environments. For example, apartment complexes should incorporate day care facilities adapted for parent participation, large housing projects should be provided with a family neighborhood center.

e. Incentives should be offered to schools for introducing programs involving older children in responsibility for the young both within the school and in neighborhood settings (including the old and the sick, and also for the development of programs which bring members of the community in contact with school children so as to reduce the widening gap between the worlds of childhood and adolescence on the one hand, and the world of adults on the other.

3. Family Impact Assessment

Both Houses of Congress and analogous governmental bodies at state and local levels should change or establish committees to monitor all legislation or proposals coming before the body in question for possible impact in the welfare of families and children.

4. Homemaker services

Many disadvantaged or single parents are unable to spend time in activities with their young children because of other demands in the home, such as care of old or sick relatives, meeting the needs of a large family, housekeeping under difficult conditions, etc. Local residents trained as homemakers, or high school students in special programs (see above) could take over some of these responsibilities during regular visits so that the parent could be free to engage in activities with the younger child.

5. Group Day care

   a. Day care eligibility should not be limited to parents engaged in full-time employment.

   b. Some off-hour and around-the-clock day care should be available.

   c. Some provisions should be made for the availability of emergency day care when parents are sick, incapacitated, or for other urgent reasons temporarily unable to provide adequate care for their children.

   d. In the establishment of care programs, provision should be made for the involvement of other family members besides the parents such as adult relatives, and older children of the family.

6. Training Programs for Child Care Workers

These should be available for persons of all ages by including them in the curricula of high schools, adult education programs, community colleges, etc. They should incorporate as a regular feature voluntary child care services while in the period of training. This would make available large numbers of trained personnel at low cost for families who need such assistance.

7. Commissions for Children and Families

Federal encouragement should be given for the establishment of such commissions at the neighborhood or community level. They would have as their initial charge finding out what the community is doing, for its children and their families. The commission would examine the adequacy of existing programs such as maternal and child health services, family planning clinics, day care facilities, social service and recreational opportunities. They also would have the responsibility for looking at the entire community as an environment for children. Attention would be given not only to institutions and programs designed explicitly to serve families and children, but also to town planning, housing, traffic, entertainment, parks, urban developments, adequacy of public transportation, etc. from the point of view of meeting the needs of families and their children. The commission would be expected to report its findings and recommendations to appropriate executive bodies and to the public at large through the mass media. After completing the initial assessment phase, the commission would assume continued responsibility for developing and monitoring programs to implement its recommendations.

8. Research

Provision should be made for studies designed to assess the comparative effectiveness of specific strategies for furthering the development of children and families. Unlike the massive surveys employed to date, such investigations should focus on specific components of particular programs, rather than attempting an indiscriminate evaluation of many complex programs differing in content, clientele, and social setting.

9. A Family-centered Employment Policy in the Federal Government

The Federal Government as an employer should be mandated to set an example by adopting, at least on an experimental basis, the policies and practices proposed in these recommendations.

URGENT ACTIONS

Finally, Mr. Chairman, there are two urgent steps that cannot wait for the passage of a bill in 1974. They must be taken now:

1. REINSTATING AND EXPANDING MATERNAL AND INFANT CARE SERVICES. IN VIEW OF ITS URGENCY, A SEPARATE BILL SHOULD BE INTRODUCED IN THE CONGRESS NOW TO REESTABLISH AND EXPAND THE NEW MATERNAL AND INFANT CARE SERVICES AND TO MANDATE THAT THE APPROPRIATED FUNDS NOT BE IMPOUNDED BY THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH.

2. VERIFYING THE SUPPORT OF FAMILY PROGRAMS ON REVENUE SHARING. MANY VITAL FEDERAL PROGRAMS FOR FAMILIES AND CHILDREN HAVE BEEN DISMANTLED BY THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION WITH THE ASSURANCE THAT THEY WOULD BE "PICKED UP" BY STATES AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES WITH SUPPORT FROM REVENUE SHARING. FOR THE SAKE OF THE NATION'S CHILDREN, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THIS PROCESS BE MONITORED BY AN APPROPRIATE AGENCY IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, SUCH AS THE OFFICE OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT, TO IDENTIFY ANY LAPSE IN CRITICAL PROGRAMS. AN EFFORT SHOULD THEN BE MOUNTED, BY THE CONGRESS IF NECESSARY, TO ASSURE THAT THE VITAL NEEDS OF FAMILIES ARE BEING MET.

Summary

Mr. Chairman, I should like to summarize with three statements

1. The family is the most humane, efficient and economical system for making human beings human known to man.

2. With all its strength, the family cannot survive and function in a vacuum. It requires support from the neighborhood, from the world of work, and from social and political institutions at the local, state, and national level.

3. The future belongs to those nations that are prepared to make and fulfill a primary commitment to their families and their children. For, only in this way will it be possible to counteract the alienation, distrust, and breakdown of a sense of community that follow in the wake of impersonal technology, urbanization, bureaucratization, and their unplanned, dehumanizing consequences. As a nation, we have not yet been willing to make that commitment. We continue to measure the worth of our own society, and of other countries as well, by the faceless criterium of the GNP - the gross national product. We continue, in the words of the great American psychologist, William James - to "worship the bitch-goddess Success".

It appears, Mr. Chairman, that we are a "stiffnecked people". That phrase calls to mind that the worship of idols is not new in human experience, and its almost inevitable and awesome consequences are a matter of familiar record. Yet, the God of Abraham, we will recall, was merciful. He sought to warn his people by lesser calamities before Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed. Or, to translate to our own time and venacular: "Things may have to get worse before they can get better". If so, Mr. Chairman, we can take heart from the facts and figures I have brought before you; we sure are making progress!

Mr. Chairman, our nation must make and fulfill the commitment to its families and children before time runs out. Ultimately that commitment must be made and fulfilled by the people themselves. In the last analysis, it is they who must decide to change the institutions which determine how they and their neighbors live - who can get health care for his family, a habitable dwelling in which to live, opportunity to spend time with one's children, and help and encouragement from individuals and society in the demanding and richly gratifying task of enabling the young to develop into competent and compassionate human beings.

Ultimately, all of us must make this national commitment. But it can begin only where national leadership begins, in the halls of Congress and in the White House. It is, of course, unlikely that within the next three years that commitment will be made at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. It appears to be a long way from there to the lives and hearts of the people, their families, and their children. The way is surely shorter from here, from these halls, where the representatives of the people gather to serve the people's interest. I have high hope, Mr. Chairman, that the Hearings being conducted by this Committee will mark the beginning of a new era in the history of the Congress and the country, and that the Senate of the United States, under the leadership of this bi-partisan Committee, will act in behalf of the people in making a national commitment to meet the needs and realize the tragically unfilfilled potential of our families and our children.

Senator MONDALE. We have a vote so we will recess for about 5 minutes. The next panel will please assemble. We will hear next from the Parents Without Partners panel.

[Brief recess.]

Senator MONDALE. The committee will come to order. I apologize for the delay but we are in session and sometimes those votes come up and I have no choice.

We will now hear from a panel from Parents Without Partners, including: George Williams, executive director, Washington; Ms. Kathleen Gallagher, South Bend, Ind.; Ms. Marilyn Creasy, New Ipswich, N. H.; Ms. Patricia Young, Andover, Mass.

You have a fairly long statement here, which I will place in the record as though read and each of you may either read or summarize your testimony.

STATEMENT OF GEORGE B. WILLIAMS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON, D.C.; KATHLEEN GALLAGHER, SOUTH BEND, IND.; MARILYN CREASY, NEW IPSWICH, N.H.; AND PATRICIA YOUNG, ANDOVER, MASS., REPRESENTING PARENTS WITHOUT PARTNERS, A PANEL

Mr. WILLIAMS. Thank you. I am George Williams, executive director of Parents Without Partners, the world's largest organization of single parents.

I will summarize my remarks about my organization by saying that we were founded 16 years ago, and we have doubled in size every third year of our existence. If what we see on the facade of the National Archives Building is correct—"Past is Prologue"—then within the next decade we are going to be the largest voluntary membership organization in North America.

That does not say very much for the traditional marriage and it does not say very much for the nuclear family, as we have known it. There are many, many things we believe that the Government can do now on a very practical basis in the area of legislation, certainly policymaking, that can take some of the pressure off, because the four of us you see before you are direct results of the pressures our society has placed on the dual parent family.

We fervently believe that traditional marriage dissolution should be the No. 1 subject of this decade. We also believe the family is the fundamental unit of our civilization. At the same time we must define the family unit. Most everyone thinks of the traditional family as mother and father. There are 10 million single parent households in the United States.

Senator MONDALE. You estimate 10 million single parent households?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. And also one of every six children in the United States is being raised in a single-parent home. We are direct results in this organization of the escalating divorce rate in this Nation which is now beginning to approximate 50 percent.

Four of 10 marriages contracted for this year will dissolve in the divorce court after an average tenure of 7 years. I guess the phrase "the 7 year itch" is well placed in this case. But that is just part of it.

We do not have any statistics on desertion (desertion is the divorce of the poor), so adding formal divorce and desertion together and add to that death, which certainly is rather stable as far as statistics are concerned. All these factors combine toward the end result that the family is dissolving at an unprecedented rate.

We would like to state very clearly that in a marriage termination or in a family dissolution it is not the children who suffer most. It is the parent who suffers most. Because kids are amenable to changing situations, and their personalities perhaps are a little more elastic, they can bend a little easier with a breeze. And, of course, the best thing that can happen to a child is a well-adjusted, smoothly functioning parent or parents.

I have three members of my organization with me, Senator Mondale, who can give you benefit of their personal testimony.

I would like to introduce them to you. The first one is Ms. Kathleen Gallagher. She has been a member of our organization for several years and has served in various leadership capacities. She became a single parent 12 years ago and has done a magnificent job under adverse circumstances in raising their children.

She is from South Bend, Ind.

Ms. GALLAGHER. Thank you, George, and Senator Mondale, and other interested persons.

I am very delighted to be here today. I have looked at the seal behind Senator Mondale and see it says "e pluribus unum," and I today feel like I am one out of many.

Maybe I am still a small voice, but I am a very concerned single parent. Normally, I might add, I am not the kind of person to bare my soul publicly, but today I am doing it because I am concerned. I am concerned not so much for my own children, because I feel that they have reached a degree of success in their lives, but I am concerned for the continuing problem of the dissolution of divorce, of breaking up of families and the fragmentation of family life in society today.

I went from a husband—a father who was alcoholic—who was mentally ill, whom I committed at one time during that marriage of 17 years—to a physical impairment of paralysis, preceding my divorce about 4 months and spinal surgery, to the point that I have reached today, where I have three college educated children.

My oldest son just recently graduated with a degree from Stanford, a Ph.D. in nuclear and systems engineering. I have a young son who is a graduate and now a certified public accountant. I have a daughter who is actively practicing as a registered nurse in intensive care of newborn babies. So I feel that not only as a single parent, but more than ever, my own children have contributed something to society and will continue to do so, partly because of some of the philosophies I have tried as a single parent to instill within them.

I do not feel that the educational system as it is today presents to the children of society an adequate preparation for the stresses of life. My 12 years spent as a single parent have not been easy ones, but I am not a complainer, and my guiding philosophy to my children has been, "don't sit back and feel sorry for yourself."

Maybe it is because of a little Irish temperament because I am a fighter and I will not give up, but I want to give you some insight into some of the problems that have occurred in our lives during those 12 years.

There is a form of discrimination. I don't care how you word it, but there is discrimination, openly and indirectly, against the single parent in society today.

I don't care on what income level it is either. It takes many forms. Part of it is the result of lack of legislation. Some of it is certainly lack of insight in the educational system. It goes without saying that probably of foremost concern—and it has been said before and I would verify this as a single parent—is the problem of adequate income. Child support payments or life insurance payments of the widow or widower are rarely adequate to provide for the needs of a growing family. It is mandatory in most cases that that single parent find work outside the household. Particularly from a woman's standpoint, the mother of those children, she has additional problems of child care, of low income levels, because of the type of work she is equipped to do, the problems of bringing occupational skills current when she has not worked for years and finding a suitable job that will bring to her a degree of self respect as a single parent.

As has been said, one family in nine is headed by a woman. This means 5.6 million families are headed by women. In the decade between 1960 and 1970 this group has increased 24 percent in numbers.

Senator MONDALE. In one decade?

Ms. GALLAGHER. That is correct. I might add that statistics frequently are out of date before they are published or verbalized, but according to census figures, these are the nearest I can come to.

Now compounding the problem is that despite women's rights movements and equal opportunity legislation, the average female worker is nowhere near on a median level with a man who happens to head a household. Actually, her earnings approximate 56 percent when you compare equal levels of age and education.

It has also been worded another way, that the average woman, with a high school education, receives the equivalent salary of that of a man with an eighth grade education.

However, despite income problems, I was able to educate three children, part of the time on annual earnings of $6,000 a year, plus an estimated child support of $2,800 annually. I realize this still puts me in a higher median bracket than most females. This is a very broad problem when you look at the total number of children involved. Actually, I would estimate there are close to 4 million children from birth to 17 years of age whose mothers work.

If you compare that to the number of licensed day care facilities at the present time, which is also estimated to be approximately 800,000, you realize what a gigantic problem it is for the single parent mother. Actually, the veto by the President of the day care bill only serves to aggravate an immediate solution to this gigantic problem.

The second area of my concern has been and continues to be the problems generated by inequitable taxation of the single parent. There are many inequities. Most assuredly, child care expense should be treated as a business expense rather than a personal expense.

To give you an example, a traveling businessman has need of secretarial services when he is out of town, so he hires a secretary and wines and dines her, can even hire a chauffeur, and claim this as a legitimate business expense. Why not allow the working mother or father to claim child care expenses also?

Then you have additional problems of mothers and fathers who cannot even get to the stage of taking a job because they cannot afford to have anybody come in while they are perhaps retraining themselves for an upward mobile movement, as has been indicated earlier today.

As a single parent, I feel that in such a situation of divorced or separated parents, where both individuals contribute to the support of the child, there should be some automatic, and I stress automatic, and some equitable—and I would like to stress that, too—formula for concluding and allowing split exemptions to claim tax credits, both for support and for the education of those children.

I really feel that the IRS system of income tax regulation and supervision only enhances the problem of the single parent. The single parent actually is not allowed to stop fighting over those children.

After the divorce settlement, the IRS makes them fight for those children the rest of their working lives, while they have dependent children.

Let me give you an example of a certain kind of tax harassment that I have experienced. You read about these things in articles. It seemed liked a nightmare to me while it was happening. It happened during a time of my working life when I had two children in college. My husband was delinquent in the support money. The actual amount of tax dollars involved was $660. In one of those two times the IRS audited my tax return, the first one was the result of the fact that my former husband had claimed me and the three children 2 years following the divorce.

Now mind you, there was no provision for my support, but he still claimed me. So that triggered an IRS audit, because actually two people cannot claim the same exemptions. But what I am saying is that the burden for that incorrect filing fell on my shoulders and I had to prove—I had to fight desperately to prove my tax exemptions.

In another instance the auditor in the second audit in 1966 threatened me that if I did not "give" some of my tax exemptions, namely the children, to my former husband, he would take all three of them away from both of us. This again was at a time when I could not afford the expense of hiring a tax attorney, but I did.

I fought fire with fire and I hired a former IRS tax examiner to plead my case successfully.

In the same audit, the auditor threatened to use my oldest son's scholarship against me in the form of the total number of dollars contributed to that child's expenses. I quoted the IRS ruling, the printed ruling, back to this auditor. He said, it is just not possible—he kept going on like I said nothing to him, and it was only when the former IRS man appeared with me that the IRS people backed off and I was successfully able to prove my exemptions.

The third area that involves me, regardless of income level, and other single parent women is with the areas of credit, of insurance, and with mortgages. Actually I have been afraid to approach the mortgage situation. I had to sell my home to get my children educated and even though I have a higher income level than I have ever had in my life, I still am not ready to face the indignity of being turned down for a mortgage for a home.

In addition, I have suffered the indignity of being turned down for automobile insurance. Immediately following my divorce, of course, I had to buy a car to get to work, and of course I had to have insurance coverage to drive the car. Allstate Insurance rejected my application, would not even process it, and the only reason they gave me was that "you are divorced" and consequently considered a high risk.

In another area of my credit, I feel I have been discriminated against, and this you may consider slightly humorous; I did later on, not at the time. In 1971 I applied for a Bank Americard through First Bank and Trust in South Bend, where I had been a resident of the community for over 20 years.

At that time I was a business administrator for eight doctors, managing several X-ray facilities, and my income level was near $10,000. Within the same week that I filed the application, lo and behold a gal appeared from the Bank Americard office to apply for my job.

Now shortly thereafter, I decided I still wanted a Bank Americard, so I wrote the banking facility and directed it out of that department to the head of public relations and explained my problem. Well, to this day, gentlemen, I have had no acknowledgement from my letter, from my credit application, and certainly I do not have a Bank Americard.

We feel as single parents in Parents Without Partners that perhaps some type of national divorce code should be enacted, in that many of these problems are fragmented when they are placed in the control of States in their legislation. One of these areas that we feel is the strong effect that a dissolution of marriage has on the education of dependent children.

To be very honest with you, the education of my children has been my prime motivation for the past 12 years. I was stunned when I read my divorce decree in 1961 to learn that absolutely no reference was made or provision therein for the education of our children. I believe that there should be mandatory provision in all divorce decrees for shared responsibility in the education of dependent children.

I believe this would have great and lasting benefit.

I believe also, and I say this most sincerely, that the problems relating to the dissolution of marriage, the increasing divorce rate, will see no solution until government makes more adequate provisions in the educational system available to all children, equally and fairly, that they are given the right, the privilege, to learn about marriage, to learn about divorce, how to be good and effective parents, what it is like to have a delinquent child.

I think they need to have better preparation for the certainties in their lifestyles, for the certainties of stress.

The recently developed program of education for parenthood, which was launched in September 1972 by the Office of Education and the Office of Child Development, is a step forward. I believe this type of thing should be encouraged as it would alleviate some of the anxieties related to family living, and they are there. They are constantly present.

Our organization, Parents Without Partners, continues to make itself available to anyone, anyone on the highest to the lowest level. Let us tell you what it is like to be a single parent. Let us share with you our pertinent viewpoints toward the solution of our shared problems of single parents and their children in society today.

I want to thank you very much. If there is anything more I could add, please allow me the privilege.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for a moving statement and one which gives us the perspective that we do not hear much around here.

Mr. **Williams.** I might say, Senator Mondale, that Kathy touched on automobile insurance concerning divorced people.

Senator **Mondale.** Is that a common basis for declining insurance coverage?

Mr. **Williams.** Yes, sir.

Senator **Mondale.** What possible reason would there be?

Mr. **Williams.** I do not know, because we have just completed recent surveys showing single parents as not the best drivers in the world, but better than two groups I know of. Those two groups are marriage counselors and ministers of the gospel.

Senator **Mondale.** Ms. Gallagher, did you say your husband was an alcoholic?

Ms. **Gallagher.** Yes, that is correct.

Senator **Mondale.** Did you have insurance while you were married to him?

Ms. **Gallagher.** I was covered under his policy.

Senator **Mondale.** He was covered while he was an alcoholic?

Ms. **Gallagher.** That is correct. At that time he was under treatment with five tranquilizers a day, and I asked the psychiatrist, can this man safely drive, and he said, "So? He has got to get to his job."

Mr. **Williams.** This is Ms. Marilyn Creasy from New Ipswich, N.H. She would like to talk to you about the military.

Ms. **Creasy.** Senator Mondale, I am a former member of the armed services. I was married to and divorced from a noncommissioned officer in the U.S. Air Force. He was in the Air Force for more than 14 years. I am also a parent of three growing boys, ages 4, 12, and 17.

I have been a single parent for only 5 years, but in those 5 years I have learned that pride is one word I have had to lose because I have none left, and no use for any, as you will see in my statement. I am going to try to cut my statement down as requested.

We have had to moonlight, as the saying goes, in order to continue living, not just existing. Both my husband and I had to work—I had to work full time and my husband part time—leaving no time for family life. We had no family life except possibly Sunday afternoon, and sometimes on Sunday mornings we were able to go to church as a family group. The finance status of most married servicemen with families are terrible. I have known families on welfare in the military, which is sinful for Government people. I think no matter how tight the purse strings, you just could not manage, and in order to cut this short, I would like to say that as a welfare recipient, I feel my family is being discriminated against now and stigmatized by the now existing welfare laws.

I am also a disabled veteran. If I were simply disabled, I would receive $281 from the welfare per month, but because I am a veteran, serving my country which I thought I was doing the right thing at the time, I am being cut down, decreased in my grant by 50 percent, because I am now receiving VA disability, which the Government thinks is my right.

This is allowing me to keep only $15 or 10 percent of my VA disability pension. This is discriminating against my status as a veteran.

As for being stigmatized, what more stigma can be put on someone than to be told because I am on welfare and not paying taxes, I have no right to speak my opinions, and this I have been told directly to my face.

I feel as though my problems at this time, with my children, one being a delinquent, was brought upon by many things, concerning the military. We had transfers where my husband, the father of my two boys at the time, was taken away from family life. I was working full time, so there again, they had no chance for proper bringing up, as I would put it. They were left in the hands of babysitters and understaffed base nurseries.

I just cannot seem to place enough importance on this fact that unnecessary hardships are placed on military families, and I wish that the military would change some of their policies.

In preparing for this testimony, I was advised by a member of our organization, a field grade officer now retired from the Army, that conditions leading to marriage dissolution and resulting single parenthood are more acute in the service than among civilians. This is true because many families cannot adjust to the constantly relocating which seems to be required in the military, that breakups are caused by low pay and poor living conditions among the enlisted personnel, many of whom are on welfare, and the necessity of hardship tours, 1 year overseas without the family.

This was also a personal experience of my own. He found as I did that the military is highly sensitive about releasing any statistics to any organization on subjects which they feel might cause an unfavorable public image. Maybe you can change this. I sure hope so.

Senator MONDALE. When did your divorce take place?

Ms. CREASY. That was 1971. I was separated 3 years previous.

Senator MONDALE. Do you think if you had had adequate economic support, if the pay had been decent, that that marriage might have survived?

Ms. CREASY. I really think so. My husband was staff sergeant for quite a number of years, and due to the fact that every time he had the chance for a promotion, the field he was in was frozen, or we were relocated to another base, and there again hoping and praying that he would get a chance for a higher rank, only to find the field frozen again. The disappointment of not attaining a promotion and continued disruption of work and family life, seemed to give my husband a different outlook on his military and family responsibilities—he began drinking excessively. This brought on alcoholism and taking off work during all hours of the day and night. Then, I believe in 1964, I am not sure, the military gave NCO's the privilege or the right to get their wife's allotment checks across the board with their monthly pay, leaving the wife without any money.

Senator MONDALE. In other words, you had to get it from him?

Ms. CREASY. Yes, I had to get it from him.

Senator MONDALE. And he was becoming an alcoholic, too?

Ms. CREASY. He was definitely becoming an alcoholic, in fact to the point that today driving from Dover, Del., to visit with his children, he has a portable liquor cabinet in the front seat of his car constantly. He comes in the house carrying it. Now, to me I think it is unnecessary. I will not allow my children any more the privilege of traveling with their father, which I am being put down because of it, I am being the bad guy in the family because they cannot see their father unless he visits with them at home.

I cannot let them go travel a distance by plane or anything not knowing what they are going to be treated like.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Incidentally, I have been told on several occasions by marriage counselors, psychiatrists, psychologists, that the incidence of family dissolution increases by a minimum of 50 percent following family relocation. This is true both in the military and the corporate structure.

Senator MONDALE. It is interesting we had the Census Director here the other day, and he said that movement had no bearing on that question, but I was skeptical myself, and that is interesting.

Mr. WILLIAMS. This is Ms. Young.

Ms. YOUNG. I will try to make it as brief as possible.

I was a military wife. My husband was an E–7 at one time.

What I wanted to bring up here was the almost nonexistent type of family counseling, psychiatric care, so on and so forth, to any serviceman or family in the service that needs it.

We had problems that started because we were overseas and we had, like 14 months—in 14 months we had seven hospitalizations. The Government did not pick up our bills, and the bills started my husband——

Senator MONDALE. I thought the Government in the service provided medical care for families?

Ms. YOUNG. I have got them [indicating]. In this situation where we were, they had not put the true basis out of what we were to do with the bills. So we held on to half of them. This is the whole group over on this one unit.

We held on to half of them, and half of them were thrown out.

During this time, my husband's nerves started to go, and we went for help. We were in Beirut at the time. As far as mental health over there it is practically nonexistent, and there was nothing he could do to get nerve pills, which he needed much more than this, and he started to alcohol. He was a man at this time that had perfect service. He had made E–7 by 10 years.

I have got commendations, at least 10 or 12, that were made. We at the time had been told to leave Beruit because my son had two operations and was constantly sick and could not get over the sickness, and we had a written statement from the doctor to leave Beirut and come back to the States.

He was told, in fact he was threatened that if we came back to the States in midterm, during this tour, he would be out of a unit that he had taught in and he loved. When he was told this, the alcohol just slowly took over.

By the time we left Beirut, he was mentally and physically going downhill fast. When we came back here, he was court-martialed because he went a.w.o.l. This is a man with all of these years of service, that loves the service. They did not help him. They gave him no psychiatric care. I begged for it.

They gave me no help whatsoever, except practically to tell me to shut up or disappear.

He left one base where he was court-martialed in California and was given orders to go to Arizona. When I arrived out in Arizona, my furniture had come in from Beruit, he had disappeared again. Again no help.

I went to the commanding general on the post. He was court-martialed on a board with the commanding officer that was so tight he could not even read the court-martial charges.

Here is a man who is now an alcoholic. His physical and mental condition had completely deteriorated. I got no help whatsoever for myself or my children, and finally I went down and begged AER for money. I am now supporting children on $104 take-home a week. I have gone to welfare and asked for help, and I had to threaten them with this (indicating) to get that help——

Senator MONDALE. Did you get it?

Ms. YOUNG. Not yet. I will—I will keep screaming until I do.

Senator MONDALE. What work do you do now?

Ms. YOUNG. I am a secretary.

Senator MONDALE. When were you divorced?

Ms. YOUNG. Two years ago, but it was about a 5½-year period where I tried to save him. I went through a year with him in AA, and he did stay sober for a year, and I tried to hold it together. There is no help whatsoever in the service, no counseling at all for me or my children. He had a 5-minute interview with a psychiatrist. This was his total help with the service.

He did not get a medical discharge, which he should have been out on, which now would help myself and the children. My husband, wherever he is, might as well be dead, because at least we could get help. I do not wish him dead, but he might as well be, because my children would see some kind of help.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much. You know all three divorces have an alcohol base, but that follows something else. I could not help but think as we go through this, that one of the men who announced retirement here is Senator Hughes, who has really tried to revolutionize this country's attitude toward alcoholics and tried to get into the treatment and the help that they so desperately need with alcoholics. I think this shows the ravages of that disease.

I remember talking to a friend of mine in poverty work. I said, "what surprised you most about poverty?" He said the number of poverty stricken people who have alcoholic problems. This is really a national scandal. Our programs are beginning, thanks to Senator Hughes, but we are just starting.

Ms. YOUNG. What I would like to say and emphasize is that the military does not have the facilities to help families as a unit. One psychiatrist for maybe 3,000 or 4,000 people. How much help can you get? This is something that I really think more should be done for those in the military and you would not see all of these divorces, you would not see men cracking up under pressure because of low pay scales, and so forth.

I have worked off and on all during our marriage, because we would need something, I would go out and work. But there are others that could not do it and were not capable of going out and working, so consequently they got into a bind, and the husband would get out of the house, go down and have a beer. It just starts splitting away.

Senator Mondale. Well, thank you very, very much for a most useful panel. It gives us a different insight.

Mr. Williams. Senator, we have an expert who was to come in and testify on day care. Unfortunately, she could not come because she could not find anybody to take care of her children.

Senator Mondale. I'm sorry she could not be here. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Williams follows:]

Parents Without Partners, Inc.

An international non-profit, non-sectarian educational organization
devoted to the welfare and interests of single parents and their children

September 19, 1973

TO : Senate Subcommittee on Children and Youth
443 Old Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20010

FROM: Parents Without Partners, Inc.
7910 Woodmont Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20014

George B. Williams
Executive Director

My name is George B. Williams, and I am Executive Director of Parents Without Partners, Inc., the world's largest organization of single parents. With me today are three members of my organization who will present their personal stories and findings on several aspects of our national life affecting the dissolution of the family and the resulting deleterious effects on children and youth.

Before introducing them, let me tell you something about our organization, Parents Without Partners. We are an International, voluntary membership organization of single parents -- the widowed, divorced, separated and never-married -- who are bringing up children alone in what is still a dual-parent society. Custody is not a requirement for membership, and 35% of our members are men. PWP's North American membership (United States and Canada) lists 90,000 members. We were founded nearly 16 years ago and have doubled in size every third year of our existence; our growth has been phenomenal, and the future of our organization has never been brighter. This doesn't say much for the future of the traditional marriage as we have known it or of the so-called nuclear family.

More than 700 Chapters of our organization exist in all 50 States and in most Canadian Provinces. We also have large affiliated groups, exclusive of our 90,000 members in North America, in Australia, New Zealand, England, Mexico and Venezuela. Chapters range from upwards of 1,000 members in urban areas to fewer then 100 in the smaller towns and cities. Each Chapter, with elected volunteer leaders, plans and conducts its own programs of service to its members and their children, with administrative aids, materials, advice and guidance from the International Office here in Washington. We are tax-exempt as a non-profit, non-sectarian, educational organization devoted exclusively to the welfare and interests of single parents and their children.

Our members come from all walks of life and represent a kaleidescope of occupations, interests and educational attainment. Ages range from the 20's into the 60's with the bulk of the membership in the 30's and 40's. Thirty-five percent of our members are widows and widowers, but the majority are divorced. Never-marrieds are a tiny growing minority, and there are many "separateds" who do not divorce for religious or other reasons. Sixty-five percent of the total are women. The only requirement for membership in Parents Without Partners is single parenthood. We represent a typical cross-section of the millions who have suffered marriage termination, have children to worry about, and are in the throes of a reorganization of their lives. Our members come to us at all stages in the process of separation; some are only,recently widowed or divorced while others have lead the "single again" life for some time.

Some have young children; others have teenagers. Some are fairly sophisticated, others naive. They are of all faiths. A few have had professional counseling; most know nothing about it. Basically middle to lower-middle class on the socio-economic scale (a marriage termination invariably means that the party or parties to it take a step or two down that scale), many are bitter about marriage, others hopeful about remarriage. About the only other generalization I can make about the organization I represent is that the members are all in the process of transition and change and have come to us for help. Having received the help they need, and having completed the process of transition, they leave. The average tenure of membership is about two years. We are a permanent organization of transients. We are a do-it-yourself, self-help organization. We've had to be.

For the most part, gentlemen, you as individuals are members of the legal profession, and you know full well that the end of a marriage, especially if children are involved, is a tremendously traumatic experience for all concerned. Even if problems were anticipated, nobody, it seems, ever expects them to be so critical. Beyond that, many unpredicted situations and problems have to be faced. In any case, demoralization and despair are the frequent response. There is much that government can do in many, many areas to make the transition smoother for those who suddenly enter the world of the formerly married because of marriage dissolution.

It is most encouraging to see, beginning with the hearings by this subcommittee, that the nation is beginning to address itself to the escalating phenomenon of broken families and marriage termination. All I can say is that it's about time.

Marriage dissolution should be the Number One subject of the decade. The family is the fundamental unit of civilization, and the traditional marriage has been a corner-stone of our society. Marriage dissolution is reaching epidemic proportions, and the societal impact on all levels of our national life is now beginning to manifest itself.

Strange things are happening to the institution of marriage as we know it in the United States and in Western society; curious things are happening to divorce in America. The pain and trauma associated with the break-up of a marriage have not impaired the prevalence of marriage dissolution. Approximately four of every 10 couples who marry this year will not live happily ever after.

They will divorce after, on the average, seven years of marriage. It can be safely said that the divorce rate is soaring to a record peak; it is beginning to approximate 50%.

One of every six children in the United States is now being raised in a single parent home. The first-marriage rate is now at its lowest ebb since the Depression. Second marriages have also leveled off dramatically. "The Pill" and liberalized abortion laws have accounted for the fact that the birth rate has reached its lowest level in our history, and even where children aren't involved directly, equally striking is the rising number of marriages that split apart after the major child-raising chores are finished. Among couples married 15 to 19 years, divorce has doubled since 1960, while in the 20-years-and-over bracket, it is up 56%.

And in spite of the pill and liberalized abortion laws, the number of so-called "illegitimate" births is rising.

Let me also state here and now that those who suffer most in a marriage dissolution are not the children. Children are amenable to change and resilient. It is the adult who suffers most.

The best thing one can do for a child is to enable him to have a reasonably well-adjusted, functioning parent or parents. We are all aware that innocent children are innocent victims of marriage dissolution. Parents can become disturbed, overwrought and traumatized when they enter the world of the formerly married, and they must readjust their lives in a happy, organized manner. Above all, this has the most beneficial effect on children. Contributing heavily to the trauma and maladjustment suffered by many members of the single parent community are several inequities which can be corrected by government, both in the legislative, enforcement and policy-making areas.

From personal experience, the three members of our organization whom I will introduce to you now will present their personal experiences as well as their recommendations in several of these areas. In the order of their appearance, they are as follows:

Ms. Katheleen Carroll Gallagher. Ms. Gallagher has been a member of our organization for several years and has served in several leadership capacities. In the business world, she is Assistant Secretary of Coachman Industries, Inc., of Middlebury, Indiana. She is also the Administrative Assistant to the President of that corporation, Mr. T.H. Corson. You'll be interested to know that when Mr. Corson was approached to give Ms. Gallagher the time to come to Washington to testify before this committee, he said, "My opinion of the men in government and those elected Senators has risen considerably since learning that they have asked you to discuss the problems of the single parent. They can benefit greatly from your knowledge and that of your Organization, and it's gratifying to know that Congress is actually seeking the advice of those who have had experience with the problems. Hopefully, they'll do more of this in all areas of government."

Ms. Gallagher became a single parent 12 years ago and at that time, her two sons were age 13 and 15 and her daughter was 14. Since her divorce, her children have successfully completed the total of 16 years of college in nine of those 12 years. Her eldest son has his doctorate from Stanford University in nuclear and systems engineering, and her younger son is a graduate of Indiana University and is now a Certified Public Accountant. Her daughter is a Registered Nurse specializing in the intensive care of newborn babies. All of them are happily married.

Ms. Marilyn Creasy. Ms. Creasy is a former member of the Armed Services herself and was married to a non-commissioned officer in the United States Air Force for more than 14 years. She is divorced, and a parent of three growing boys. She has direct knowledge of how policies governing the military affect the lives of enlisted servicemen and their families while on active duty. Ms. Creas is a housewife from New Ipswich, New Hampshire.

Ms. Patricia Young. Ms. Young is the divorced mother of three children and is a resident of Andover, Massachussetts. She is employed as a secretary. Her situation is rather unique, because her divorce from a senior non-commissioned officer in the United States Army did not solve very many problems for her. Many of those problems continue because of some military policies no longer in existence but which, in her case, are not yet resolved. While she is divorced from a former Army non-commissioned officer, her testimony will show, I believe, that her divorce from problems generated by "benign military neglect" will not be final until she leaves this planet.

STATEMENT OF MS. GALLAGHER

I am personally delighted to discuss certain areas of concern which I share with other single parent women functioning in the business world.

My 12 years spent as a single parent were not easy ones. I'm not complaining, because I've been very fortunate. My children have turned out well. I've worked extremely hard in spite of the fact that both, my family and I have felt like "second class" citizens because of my divorce. A man or woman divorced or separated with children is the subject of a wide variety of overt and covert discrimination, some of which is directly due to lack of governmental controls and laws. This discrimination takes many forms, and I would like to review with you some of the particularly revelant aspects. If you magnify my problems as one single parent woman by the 10,000,000 single parents in the United States today, you will easily realize my concern as an individual as well as the concern of my organization, Parents Without Partners.

(1) It goes without saying that one of the most commonly shared dilemmas of single parents is adequate income. Child support payments or life insurance benefits are rarely adequate to provide for the needs of a family. In nearly every case, it is mandatory that a single parent be employed outside the home in order adequately to support the household. This leads to ansulary problems of child care, low income levels of the average woman, bringing their occupational skills current, and finding a suitable job. Today one family in nine is headed by a woman - this means 5.6 million families headed by women. In the decade between 1960 and '70, this group increased 24% in numbers.

Compounding this problem is the fact that despite women's rights movements and equal opportunity legislation from the Congress, figures on the earnings by occupational and educational levels clearly show that a working woman with a high school education earns approximately 56% of the salary attained by men on an equivalent level of age and education. From the standpoint of society, concern must be centered on the status of those single parent families with dependent children. Most are not as fortunate as I have been. I did manage to keep three children in college at the same time on earnings of approximately $6,000 per year, plus approximately $2,800 in child support annually.

This is a very broad problem. The proportion of mothers working outside the home is now more than double that of 25 years ago. For a graphic illustration of the problem, consider the group of mothers with children under six. Last year, there were more than 4.3 million mothers with children under six in the labor force. More appalling, there were 1.3 million mothers with children who were bringing up their families without a husband. Add to this the children from six to 17 years of age being raised by single parent women - almost 3.3 million - and one soon realizes that compared to the estimated number of licensed day-care slots of 800,000, the recent veto by the President on the matter of day care facilities only serves to aggravate immediate solutions to this gigantic problem for single parents and their children.

(2) The second area of concern are the problems generated by inequitable taxation of the single parent. Most assuredly, child care expenses should be treated as a business expense rather than a personal expense.

An industrialist can hire 2 dozen extra secretaries and even a chauffer and there is never any shadow of a doubt that their wages will be a legitimate tax deduction. He pays their wages from one pocket and recoups a handy tax break from the Treasury with another. The secretaries help him work more effectively. They help him spend time more productively so that he can make a greater contribution to our nation's economy. Without them and their help, he would be very much cut down to size.

But what about fathers or mothers who can't even get to the stage of taking a job at all without paying someone to look after their children or clean their homes? They don't have the resources of a millionnaire, but they have to hire someone or pay someone to help them all the same. No business deduction for them - despite the fact that many of these parents could not even work at all without incurring such expenses, let alone getting to the stage of thinking in terms of help to enable them to work more effectively.

Certainly, where two divorced or separated parents provide support to children, there should be some automatic, equitable formula for allowing them to split exemptions and claim tax credit, both for support and for the education of those dependent children. Meaningful tax reform is long overdue. I would think the House Ways and Means Committee would be seriously embarrassed by their inaction. I, and other single parents, wonder exactly what the time table on this glacier is?

Let me personalize tax problems as they affect single parents. I am one of those you may have read about who was the subject of IRS harrassment. On two occasions, the IRS chose to audit my returns as a single parent - the first time when my former husband claimed both me and the three children (mind you, this was two years after the divorce) and it was this incorrect filing that triggered an audit of my return, and the burden of proving the deductions and exemptions fell on my shoulders. At one point, I was threatened by the IRS auditor that he would take away all my dependent exemptions unless I would "give" some of these exemptions to my former husband. Actually, the auditor also threatened to use my older son's scholarship money against me in computing which of us contributed 50% of the total support. This, in spite of their own printed rulings which state that scholarships are not to be considered as income in such cases. I finally had to utilize the services of a practicing tax consultant to plead the hearing successfully before an IRS examiner. All this, at unnecessary and great expense to me at a time when I could little afford it.

(3) The third area of concern are problems encountered in the areas of credit, mortgages and insurance for the widowed and divorced.

Let me sight a couple of brief examples:

In 1962, I suffered the indignity of being refused automobile insurance coverage simply because I was newly-divorced, and considered a bad risk for that reason. Allstate Insurance Company refused my application, refused even to process it, because I had not been divorced for at least a year. I submit that I was a better driver after my divorce than I was before. Not only that, why could I not be considered as an individual and be judged on my own driving record?

From all that I hear in my organization, insurance discrimination against the divorced and widowed still exists and has not receded at all. From what I am told, I believe it has escalated.

As far as credit is concerned, I've been fortunate. My income level is higher than most single parent women. However, there is one interesting anecdote to indicate discrimination. In May of 1971, I sent an application for a BankAmericard to First Bank and Trust Company in South Bend, Indiana. This was while I was employed as business administrator for eight doctors, managing several X-ray facilities, and my income was indicated near $10,000. Within that very same week, a woman appeared from the BankAmericard Central Office to apply for my job, but I never heard anything directly from BankAmericard. I wrote the banking facility to which the application had been sent and explained what had happened. I also explained that I would still like to have a card. To this day, I have never received an acknowledgement to my application or my letter, nor have I received a BankAmericard.

(4) The fourth concern I have is the problem of divorce and separation and the effect on the education of the dependent children. The education of my children has been my prime motivation these past 12 years. I was stunned when I read my divorce decree in 1961 to learn that no reference or provision had been inserted in the decree for their higher education. This is one area where a national divorce code with mandatory provisions for shared responsibility for the education of children would be of great and lasting benefit. Such provisions will probably not exist as long as states are the control point for the issuance of divorce decrees. In addition, there should be mandatory provisions for the insurance and health protection of those children.

There are many, many reasons for a national divorce code and it could be approached through the states on the same basis that the "no-fault" automobile insurance legislation was approached: minimum standards and a time frame.

(5) Problems relating to the dissolution of marriage will continue to plague us until government makes more adequate provisions in our educational system

to provide that all children, equally and fairly, are given the right to learn about marriage, about divorce, about being good, effective parents, etc., in order that they may better prepare themselves for the certainties of their life styles. The recently developed program, "Education for Parenthood", launched by the Office of Education and the Office of Child Development in September, 1972, is most exciting in all respects. This is just the type of thing our nation needs as we view with considerable anxiety the recent trends in marriage dissolution. Hopefully, similar programs in other areas will be developed and launched. My organization continues to be available as consultants and is prepared at all times to share our experience with all governmental levels concerned. Let me also add, Senators, that it is gratifying to know that you are asking us to discuss pertinent viewpoints toward speedy solutions to our shared problems of single parents and their children in our society today ... and tomorrow.

Thank you very much.

STATEMENT OF MS. CREASY

I was involved with the military for 14 years. Many problems were encountered and, of course, notall of them were militarily connected. Problems common to most marriages become more prominent, however, because of the stresses of military life. Many problems encountered directly result from policies governing military personnel as well as, in some cases, the lack of covering policies.

The overriding problem for enlisted military families is money. Ninety percent of the families I knew in the military found it necessary to "moonlight" in order to survive. No matter how tight the hold on the purse strings, it was necessary for me to work on a full-time basis and for my husband to work part-time, three nights a week plus Saturdays every week. He held the rank of Technical Sergeant, at that time the second highest non-commissioned officer rank.

Even though military pay scales have escalated recently, so has the cost of living. The "tight money" situation for enlisted military families has not altered.

The necessity of "moonlighting" adds its own strain to family life. My children spent more time at under-staffed nurseries and with baby-sitters than in their own home. This factor, plus the added physical stress of "moonlighting", placed my husband and me in an atmosphere where family life was almost nill. Although low finances is one problem nealy everyone encounters at some point, one would think that men in the military service of their government, whatever their rank, would be able to support a small family without the added mental and physical stress of "moonlighting".

One of the biggest financial strains placed on wives of non-commissioned officers came when a decision was made to allow non-commissioned officers to receive family allotment checks along with their monthly pay checks. No consideration was given to the wives and children of non-commissioned officers whose husbands were already using their pay to their own personal satisfaction. This decision was a mistake.

Unnecessary transfers run a close second to financial problems for military families. Undue mental, physical and -- again -- financial strain is placed on families in the process of transfering from one base to another. The strain is even greater when the family is not allowed to follow.

Moving from one home to another, from one school to another, becomes more difficult as the children get older and friends become closer.

Transfers to overseas bases where life is totally different and where housing is either non-existent or of low quality places other kinds of strain on family life.

Overseas bases where only families of officers are allowed makes the enlisted man feel guilty of his rank. Another strain, perhaps the biggest strain of all is placed on those families where the wife is forced, without advance or continued counsel, to take over the full responsibility as a "head of household".

Military life makes unique demands in many ways and all members of the family have pride in service to our country and do their very best to meet those demands without complaining. However, a woman becoming both father and mother to her children for any length of time learns to be less dependent on her husband, more independent and more capable of being her own boss. In many cases where the husband is the true foundation of the marriage, the marriage begins to falter with this type of transfer. Every effort should be made by the Armed Services to keep the families together and, where it is impossible to do so because of security reasons or war-time conditions, then counseling should be readily available for those who stand and wait. The divorce statistics of our Viet Nam POWs bear me out.

Is it too much to ask that when a serviceman is taken from his family for six months or more for security reasons which cannot be divulged that a senior officer come by and explain the necessity of it to the wife and children in terms they will understand without divulging the necessity of the mission? From my experience, this would have been extremely helpful, and would have saved much strain on many marriages. After all, the percentage of field grade officers and above is at its highest point in military history. While the Armed Services do a good job of "taking care of their own" the word "own" should be more fully extended to include the military dependents, too.

The military does take care of widows and orphans. Divorce, in many respects, has the same effect as death on military dependents. Even worse effects! I believe that theremust be a greater concern shown for military divorcees and their children, particularly as they may affect the children in terms of financial support and medical care.

In preparing for this testimony I was advised by a member of our organization, a field grade officer now retired from the Army, that conditions leading to marriage dissolution and resulting single parenthood are more acute in the service than among civilians. This is true because many families cannot adjust to the constant relocating which seems to be required in the military, that break-ups are cause by low pay and poor living conditions among the enlisted personnel (many of whom are on welfare), and the necessity of "hardship tours" (one year overseas without family).

He found, as did I, that the military is highly sensative about releasing any statistics to any organization on subjects which they feel might cause an unfavorable public image. Maybe you can change this. I hope so.

Thank you.

STATEMENT OF MS. YOUNG

Gentlemen, my gross weekly income is $135.00; my net $104.00. I receive no other income for either myself or my children. I can barely meet my expenses, which are greater than they need be because I have to work and that means baby-sitters.

My expenses are also larger because I have to clothe myself for my work, a greater expense than it would be if I were a housewife. Also, I don't have time to prepare economical meals, and I rely on so-called "convenience foods", and one must pay for the convenience. I am one of those heads of households whose tax base is higher, and I pay a penalty because I happen to be a single parent.

In 1957 I was married to a serviceman, attached to Army security, with the rank of SP-4. My former husband attained a rank of SP-5 in 1958, then took a year's separation from the Army in 1958-59. He re-enlisted in 1959 as an SP-5, the grade he left. Prior to our marriage, he had served 18 months in Korea, and his service record was excellent.

Upon re-enlistment, he taught as an instructor at Fort Devens, Massachussetts. He was selected for the Non-Commissioned Officers Academy in New Jersey and from there, he went on to Washington, D.C., for instructorial courses. He was then selected for language school in Monterey, California. His specialty was Arabic. At this time he was promoted to the rank of E-6.

Following language school, he returned to Washington to receive instructions and await orders for assignment to Turkey. After one year in Turkey, he was assigned to Beruit for 2 years and was promoted to the rank of E-7, the Army's highest, shortly after his arrival. All throughout his military career he received numerous commendations and recommendations from his commanding officers for outstanding performance.

Prior to my leaving for Beruit with my children, another child was born and, in addition, one of our sons was hospitalized. After my arrival in Beruit, there were five additional hospitalizations for the entire family. I developed meningitus and was later operated on for a tubal ligation which, following surgery, developed serious infections. My husband also had an accident while swimming, and my son suffered complications in a routine tonsilectomy and adenoidectomy.

My husband's assignment in Beruit was extremely demanding, and the pressures were great. In addition, the frequent and serious illnesses of our family plus the death of his father (the majority of the funeral expenses were placed on my husband), the constancy of doctor and prescription bills, the cost of hiring domestic help because of my confinement to bed under doctor's orders all contributed to my husband's suffering considerable mental and nervous tension and anguish.

When we decided that he should seek professional assistance, we discovered that all that was available in Beruit was a physician who could administer tranquilizers. Unfortunately, my husband turned to alcohol for relief, and a distinguished military career began to go down the drain.

There were no medical facilities available to us as a military family in Beruit. We incurred very costly medical and prescription bills. There was no policy established for reimbursement at the United States Embassy in Beruit. My husband's income was in no way sufficient to cover these bills in addition to the day-to-day living expenses.

After many months of medication for my son's ear infections (the operation did not help), it was upon the written statement and strong advice of my son's physician that we returned to the United States for proper medical treatment and change of climate. When my husband put in for a transfer back to the States, he was threatened that if he left his assignment in Beruit he would probably be transferred out of his outfit. And this is exactly what did occur.

While awaiting orders to be transferred back to the United States, my husband received a communication that stated he was no longer with the ASA due to "debt" (hospital, physicians and medication which the military didn't pay and for which the Embassy did not reimburse). The military used this excuse to transfer him from his unit and the resulting humiliation he suffered caused him great anguish. He had great pride in himself, his unit and his career. He was a man torn between his love for his job and his love for his family and it was at this point that he seemed to fall apart and turn totally to alcohol.

When we arrived in the States, the children and I went to Ohio. My husband continued on to his assignment in California. Shortly after reporting to his new assignment, I received a telephone call that he was absent without leave. He later turned himself in and was brought up for court martial. I flew to California and left my five-year-old and two toddlers in Ohio. After long discussions with his defense counsel and his commanding officers, they advised me that he was greatly in need of medical and psychiatric assistance. They did not want to see him court martialled. However, due to his rank, he was to be used as an "example" to others. This was actually told to my husband and me by these officers. Because he was to be an "example", no medical assistance was forthcoming.

At this time, my own physical deterioration was extreme. After the court martial, my husband was assigned to Fort Huachuca, Arizona. Before I left him in California to return to Ohio, my husband's physical and mental state was at an all-time low. After a brief period, he instructed me to bring the family to Arizona and, upon my arrival, I discovered that he was again AWOL. This time, six weeks elapsed before he returned.

He was again brought up for court martial and again demoted in rank. During this entire period, he had one interview with a psychiatrist.

It was at this time that my husband was advised to "leave the military service". He left the service, but not for medical reasons. Thus, my children and I no longer have any consideration as military dependents. There is no support for my children, nor is there any available medical care or other privileges which would be available to us if he had a medical discharge.

During his year's tour of duty in Turkey, my daughter and I were hospitalized in the States. My husband was not able to be with us. In addition to this, the Army's non-reimbursement of our medical bills in Beruit had left us in great financial debt upon return to the States and I was not able to give him very much moral and physical support during his post-Beruit assignments in California and Arizona. These separations created great strains on the family as a unit and upon my husband and me as individuals and, in turn, upon our entire marriage.

After Beruit, my husband endeavored to receive reimbursement for our medical bills incurred in Lebanon. They were never honored!

When my husband was assigned to Beruit, our marriage was very sound. I feel that the lack of medical assistance to our family (as well as other families in the service, and I have plenty of examples), no family counseling, no psychiatric care and at that time no recognition of alcoholism as a disease - all of these factors assisted the deterioration of our marriage in a most viable manner.

Because my husband's illness was not recognized at the time of his discharge (after 14 years of active military service), which up to the time of Beruit was commendable, he did not receive the medical discharge for which he was qualified. Therefore, my children reap no military benefits nor do I for their care and support.

The deterioration of my husband due to alcoholism occured while in the service. It caused great stress upon my children, and I was not able to save our marriage nor was my husband able to cope with his escalating problems. A very fine marriage ended, a very valuable soldier's service was lost to his country and my children and I continue to suffer because of the ineptitude of the military, the necessity of creating "the example" and the "benign neglect" of the fact that military wives and children are people too.

Frankly, it would be better had he died. My children would have greater security if that had happened. He might as well have died, and it may be that he has. I don't know. I haven't heard a thing for three years.

The ineptitude with which my husband's case was handled has caused untold emotional stress, particularly for my oldest daughter. The only assistance for her which I can afford is school counseling. She needs much, much more than that.

I might also add that after my husband's discharge and subsequent desertion of his family, our household goods were shipped to Ohio. I went back to Massachussetts with the children. I couldn't obtain a release to have the furniture sent to me because I "needed my former husband's signature". Consequently, this pedantic attention to red tape caused me to beg from relatives to have a home for my children. I also had to spend money I desperately needed for lawyers to try to obtain my home furnishings. In addition, many of our household goods were sold in Beruit to pay some of the medical bills we owed and for which we were never reimbursed.

The Army must provide for greater cognizance for their families in trouble. Many times I thought that if the system or even one of his commanding officers had the backbone to stand up and fight for my husband that today there would be a whole family unit with a father who is a whole person. The need at that time for decent medical and psychiatric attention was acute but lacking.

Maybe it still is. My nine-year-old son tells people that his father is dead because he cannot accept the fact that he has been rejected. My seven-year-old can't remember his father, and my 12-year-old daughter is fighting a desperate battle within herself about who is to blame for her father's disappearance from her life. If this is not a destruction of the family unit by separation, military ineptitude and basic ignorance, I don't know what you would call it.

Military families have a difficult lot at best. Military men would do a much more efficient job in serving our country if the basic instability of military families caused by low pay, frequent transfers and duty-necessitating frequent and lengthy absences could be alleviated by a greater concern and awareness for the needs of military wives and children, plus more adequate psychiatric, psychological and marriage counseling services. Without that, the problems of the innocent victims of military marriage dissolution, the children, will not be appreciably alleviated.

I do hope you'll do something about it.

Thank you very much.

CONCLUSION

In summary, gentlemen, let me reiterate the fact that there are many, many things our Federal Government can do to alleviate the pain, suffering, trauma and maladjustments caused by marriage dissolution, all of which have deleterious effects on children and youth. I won't take the time to define all the reasons why it is necessary to do so because they are more eloquently stated in the testimony than I can articulate in a summary.

The four of us did not spend very much time talking about what single parents consider to be the most critical area of need ... meaningful Day Care and Child Development legislation. From all that I have been told by not only my own 90,000 members but every single parent with young children I have talked to, this is the Number One Priority. Hopefully, forces can again be mustered to make this legislation a reality. Our nation needs it now, our children need it now, and it is their right as well as the right of those yet unborn to have it. It simply must be done. I might add that as this testimony is being drafted in its final form (Thursday, September 20) our expert on the subject of Day Care had to cancel her scheduled appearance with us ... she couldn't find anyone to take care of her children.

In addition to unvetoed Day Care and Child Development legislation, my organization also suggests the following:

1. A total end, in fact as well as theory, to class discrimination based on sex or marital status in the areas of housing, credit and insurance.
2. Immediate tax reform which, in fairness and equity, will equalize the tax base between married couples and heads of households; such legislation to provide for the deduction of child care expenses as a business deduction rather than a personal deduction and, in addition, a percentage consideration for the dependent deduction when two parties not in the same household contribute to child support.
3. A re-examination by the Armed Services as well as other governmental departments of all policies covering transfers and family relocations. (I've been told by many marriage counselors, psychiatrists and psychologist that the chances of marriage dissolution rise sharply - at least 50% - following a family relocation. I believe it.)
4. The Armed Services should re-examine all their policies covering dependents with particular reference to control of allotments for child support and alimony.
5. Uniform standards by all states in divorce codes should be encouraged by the Federal Government with particular attention to "no-fault" provisions. The archaic divorce codes in many of our states encourage the adversary system in divorce practice by lawyers and usually brands a party "guilty" or "at fault". This does not end the contentiousness which a divorce purports to cure and has long term, deleterious effects on children.
6. Uniform child custody and support laws and enforcement.

Thank you.

Senator MONDALE. Our next and final witness is Dr. Harvey Brazer, professor of economics, University of Michigan, who has a statement on taxes and the family.

We are very pleased to have you with us here this morning.

STATEMENT OF DR. HARVEY E. BRAZER, PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS AND RESEARCH ASSOCIATE, INSTITUTE OF POLICY STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Mr. BRAZER. Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to have this opportunity to present my remarks on the impact of taxation on the family to the subcommittee.

I have a relatively short paper, which presents my views, I think fairly succinctly, and, unless you prefer otherwise, I will just read it.

Senator MONDALE. Proceed.

Mr. BRAZER. The joining together of two people through marriage to form a household—or their separation through divorce or death—need not be permitted to affect tax liabilities by more than the consequences of adding or dropping a dependent's exemption. As in Canada and some other taxing jurisdictions, a man and a woman, each of whom receives income, may pay jointly the same amount of income tax, irrespective of whether or not they marry or, if married, stay married.

The problem arises in this country in part because, under our law, the unit for taxation is, essentially, the household, rather than the individual. And under an income tax that aims at taxing people according to their relative economic power or well-being, this is as it should be. At the same time, however, under this approach, it is difficult to steer a course between the single individual, the single head of household, and the married couple that will do justice to all and also avoid either imposing tax penalties on, or offering tax bonuses for, marriage.

On the other hand, the alternative of ignoring the marital status of the taxpayer, largely or entirely, inevitably results in vastly different treatment of similarly circumstanced economic units or households.

In the discussion that follows, it should be kept in mind that the institution of marriage may no longer be as easy to define as it once was. Changing social mores suggest that formal, legal marriages coupled with "no fault" divorce laws, may be increasingly difficult to distinguish from less formal or nonlegally sanctioned liaisons that appear to be gaining more widespread acceptability. I claim to be only an observer, and not an expert on this.

To the extent, therefore, that marital status becomes more a matter of legal form rather than a description of living arrangements relevant for measuring economic and, therefore, taxpaying capacity, any differential impacts of the income tax that turn on the distinction between married and single individuals take on greater weight and may be hitting an increasingly fragile institution.

I shall discuss first the principal features of the U.S. income tax that differentiate between married and single taxpayers. These are the rate structure, the low-income allowance, and the optional standard deduction, the medical deduction, the child care allowance, and the capital loss carryover. This is by no means a completely inclusive list, but for all except a small handful of taxpayers other aspects of the Tax Code that make tax liability turn in some part on marital status are in relevant esoteria.

From 1948 to 1969 married couples enjoyed the privilege of being taxed as though they were single individuals each having half of their joint incomes. In 1951, approximately half of the benefits of income-splitting was extended to single persons who maintain a home occupied by one or more dependents. For individuals with substantial incomes who contemplated marriage with someone whose income was zero or relatively low, the law offered the opportunity, through income-splitting, to "marry into lower brackets."

It also brought enormous pressures for change from single persons subject to very much higher tax rates than their married compatriots who enjoyed equal incomes. Until the 1969 Revenue Act took effect the single taxpayer's tax liability exceeded that of the married couple with the same taxable income by an amount that ranged from 3.6 percent at taxable income of $1,000 to 25.2 percent at $12,000 and a peak of 42.1 percent at $28,000.

Expressed in this fashion, the tax law seems to have dealt harshly with the single person and most generously with the married couple, only one party to which had income. It was, however, very well suited to the case of the married couple with income equally attributable to husband and wife, as compared with the single taxpayer with income equal to one-half of that of the couple.

Stated another way, under the pre-1970 law if brothers A and B and sisters X and Y each had $10,000 per year of taxable income and continued to do so after they became married couples AX and BY, marriage would not have affected their tax liabilities.

The Revenue Act of 1969, however, changed all this. While the tax rates applicable to married couples filing either joint or separate returns remained unchanged, for single individuals rates applicable to taxable income in the brackets $4,000 to $6,000 up to $38,000 to $44,000—I think it may be significant that some tax writers' salaries are in that $38,000 to $44,000 bracket—were reduced by from 1 at $4,000 to $6,000 to 10 percentage points at $20,000 to $26,000, and by as much as 20.8 percent (from 48 to 38 percent in the $20,000 to $22,000 bracket).

As a consequence our taxpayers A, B, X, and Y each would pay tax of $2,090 as unmarried individuals, for a total of $8,360. As they contemplate marriage, however, they now observe that their joint tax liabilities will rise, after marriage, to $8,760. Thus the change in the rate structure under the 1969 Revenue Act in the circumstances described has imposed an annual tax of $200 per couple on marriage.

Senator MONDALE. Are you saying that the 1969 act wiped out that single tax differential, taxpayer differential that existed before at that bracket?

Mr. BRAZER. The 1969 act reduced tax rates only for single taxpayers and also for heads of households. It did not change the rates applicable to married couples.

As a consequence, and because of the objective of reducing the differential to 20 percent, between single persons on the one hand and married couples, the result now is that if you have, as I suggest, two sisters and two brothers, and each of the four people has $10,000 of income, they pay substantially less in tax remaining single than if they marry, whereas prior to the 1969 Revenue Act, they would have paid exactly the same tax irrespective of marital status.

This is, I think, a little-noted feature of a far-reaching and important revenue act.

Those who may file tax returns as heads of households are placed approximately halfway between single persons and married couples filing joint returns in the construction of the tax rate schedules. And the tax costs of marriage vary with income and the proportions of income attributable to each member of a married couple. Thus, it is difficult to generalize about the penalty borne by marriage under current tax rate schedules.

Clearly it may be negative or zero, either where income is very low or where substantially more than half of the couple's income is received by only one of the parties, while it rises to a very large sum where income is high and equally divided between the two spouses. For example, if the man and woman each earns $50,000 in taxable income per year, as single individuals they would pay income taxes of $20,190 each, or $40,380. The "tax price" or marriage is $4,800, for as a married couple their tax liability would rise to $45,180.

And of course, if all of the $100,000 of taxable income was earned by either the husband or wife it could be divided evenly between them through marriage followed by divorce and an appropriate alimony agreement, with a tax saving to the couple of almost $5,000 per year.

At the other extreme, with only $1,000 of taxable income accruing to each individual, marriage would actually save $5 per year. I will not speculate on the implications of these figures for the attitude of the Congress with respect to the relation between income and virtue.

OPTIONAL STANDARD DEDUCTION AND LOW-INCOME ALLOWANCE

Taxpayers may now avail themselves of one of three options for handling nonbusiness deductions. They may take itemized deductions for State and local taxes, charitable contributions, interest paid, medical expenses, and a miscellany of other expenses. Or they may choose instead the optional standard deduction of 15 percent of adjusted gross income, subject to a maximum of $2,000. The third option is the low-income allowances of a flat $1,300. The choice between the standard deduction and the low-income allowance turns simply on income. Up to $8,667 the low-income allowance—LIA—exceeds the standard deduction and will be taken unless itemized deductions are greater than $1,300.

The standard deduction and the LIA are so designed as to impose tax costs on marriage because they apply under the same terms to married as to single taxpayers. Thus, for example, returning to brothers A and B and sisters X and Y, let us suppose that each has $12,000 of adjusted gross income. Collectively, while single, they would be entitled to $7,200 ($1,800 times 4) in standard deductions. But following the marriages of A and X and B and Y, other things remaining the same, the standard deduction permissible is reduced to $2,000 per couple, for a reduction of $3,200 in total and an increase, on this account, of some $600 in the tax liabilities of the four people.

The operation of the low-income allowance has a similar impact on marriage. Suppose two people each with adjusted gross income of $5,000. As single taxpayers each is entitled to a LIA of $1,300, or $2,600 in total. If they now marry their combined income of $10,000 entitles them to only a standard deduction of $1,500, for a loss of deductions of $1,100. In this instance marriage costs over $150 per year in additional tax liability.

It should be noted, of course, that married couples cannot regain the tax advantages of status as single taxpayers by filling separate returns. In the case of separate returns the LIA permitted is only $650 per return and the maximum standard deduction is reduced to $1,000. Divorce, once more, is the clear-cut answer to the problem.

DEDUCTION FOR MEDICAL EXPENSES

Medical expenses may be taken as an itemized deduction only to the extent that they exceed 3 percent of adjusted gross income (AGI) and the costs of medicine and drugs count as medical expenses only insofar as they exceed 1 percent of AGI. In cases where most or all of such expenses are incurred in behalf of one spouse the medical expense deduction may be substantially larger if that spouse both has income and can file as a single taxpayer.

As we have seen, divorce is one way in which single taxpayer status may be attained and the income of a couple divided between them. Suppose that (1) married couple AX has AGI of $20,000, all earned by A, and (2) medical expenses of $1,000 and $200 of drug costs are incurred in behalf of X. Filing jointly as a married couple, AX may deduct only $400. But if A and X, following a divorce, were to divide their income so that X received $8,000 and A $12,000, the medical expense deduction available to X would be $880, or $480 higher.

Obviously any of an infinite number of combinations of income and medical expense allocations between married couples is possible. The foregoing numbers are merely one illustration. As such the numbers have no particular significance other than to demonstrate another, probably minor, burden that the income tax law may impose on marriage.

CHILD AND OTHER DEPENDENTS CARE ALLOWANCE

As much as $4,800 per year may be deducted for the costs of household services or for the care of one or more dependent children under the age of 15 or an incapacitated spouse or dependent when such costs are incurred in order to enable the taxpyaer to be gainfully employed. This amount is deductible, however, only if AGI is equal to or less than $18,000. Above that level the amount of the allowable deduction is reduced by 50 cents for each dollar by which AGI exceeds $18,000. Thus at AGI of $27,600 the deductible amount is reduced to zero.

Let us suppose now that a married couple with two children under the age of 15 earns $36,000, divided evenly between husband and wife. At this income level they are not permitted to deduct anything that may be spent for household services of for the care of the children.

If, however, the marriage is terminated and one child is assigned to each parent, since we now have two AGI's of $18,000 rather than one of $36,000, the total allowable deduction for household services or child care may amount to as much as $9,600.

Thus, entirely apart from the tax savings accruing from the dissolution of the marriage because of other aspects of the law, this one feature by itself may cut taxable income by close to $10,000 and provide a tax reduction of some $2,500.

It should be remembered that the kind of tax impact noted here is not applicable merely to younger or young middle-aged taxpayers who may be responsible for incapacitated parents or adult children. And, while one may strongly favor this liberal treatment of the kind of expenses under discussion, the very large difference in the treatment of single as compared to married taxpayers is striking indeed.

DEDUCTION FOR CAPITAL LOSSES

Net capital losses in any one year may be deducted from other income in an amount of up to $1,000. The excess may be carried forward indefinitely and, if not offset by capital gains, the carryover is, again, deductible from ordinary income to the extent of $1,000 per year.

The $1,000 limit applies irrespective of the marital status of the taxpayer. Thus, if both husband and wife have suffered substantial capital losses and neither the current year nor succeeding years bring offsetting capital gains, they could double the amount deductible on this account if they attained single status as taxpayers.

This feature of the tax law as it impinges upon marriage is probably not of major quantitative importance. Nevertheless, it does, once more, raise the question as to whether any element of the tax code should operate in such fashion as to bring a higher tax liability simply by reason of the fact that the taxpayers are married rather than single.

OVERALL IMPACT ON MARITAL STATUS

To this point we have been looking at selected aspects of the individual income tax with each of them viewed independently of the others. In an effort to gain some additional perspective it may be helpful to look at the tax consequences of marriage under some illustrative circumstances with respect to level of income, the distribution of income between husband and wife, and the nature of nonbusiness deductions.

In table 1 some hypothetical tax liabilities are presented. In the first row of this table we have the liabilities incurred by taxpayers filing joint returns. In the two rows that follow the computations are based on the assumption that income is split equally between the dissolved marriage partners, either because one-half was earned by each or because alimony equal to the difference between one-half of AGI and the income earned by her (him) is paid to the ex-spouse.

[The table referred to above follows:]

TABLE 1.--EFFECTS OF MARITAL STATUS ON TAX LIABILITY, FAMILY OF 2 PARENTS AND 2 DEPENDENT CHILDREN, SELECTED INCOMES

[Tax liability in dollars]

Type of return and income and family split	AGI $5,000		AGI $10,000		AGI $20,000		AGI $40,000	
	LIA	Itemized deductions[1]	Standard deduction	Itemized deductions[1]	Standard deduction	Itemized deductions[1]	Standard deduction	Itemized deductions[1]
Joint	98	79	925	785	3,010	2,586	9,920	8,270
Head/head; 50-50; 2-2	0	78	[2]672	756	2,520	2,367	7,390	6,800
Head/single; 50-50; 3-1	62	207	[2]702	800	2,625	2,518	7,725	7,202
Maximum difference	98	1	253	29	490	219	2,530	1,470

[1] Itemized deductions as a proportion of AGI assumed to be equal to the average for the AGI class on joint returns filed in 1970. Computed from U.S. Department of the Treasury, "Statistics of Income, 1970, Individual Income Tax Returns" (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972).

[2] Low income allowance used on each of 2 $5,000 AGI returns.

Mr. **Brazer.** In the second row each of the parents is assigned one child and thus they both file tax returns as heads of households, while in the third row both children are assigned to one parent, who qualifies as a head of household, and the other parent files his tax return as a single individual.

It will be observed that an even split of both income and children always, in the illustrative cases presented, produces the smallest tax liability. The difference in income tax liability may amount to as much as $98 per year even where AGI is only $5,000, and that difference rises to a range of about $1,500 to $2,500 at an AGI of $40,000, depending on whether or not deductions are itemized.

These figures, however, do not include the effects, described earlier, of the treatment of medical expenses and costs of household services and care of dependents, and the capital loss offset. Thus in the case of the couple with AGI of $40,000, for example, dissolution of the marriage could permit further deductions of $7,000 for household services and child care, an additional $1,000 deduction for capital losses, and $600 of medical expenses not deductible in the joint return.

This $10,200 in reduced taxable income could bring the tax saving, assuming itemized deductions are taken, from less than $1,500 to as high as $4,500 per year. This amount represents nearly one-sixth of the after-tax income available to the couple filing a joint return. Similar calculations would offer startling, but less dramatic, evidence indicating how expensive marital ties can be under the Federal income-tax, even at low or moderate income levels.

TAX POLICY AND FAMILY STABILITY

It is difficult to believe that the pecuniary incentives for dissolving marriages that are currently offered under the individual income tax are of no influence on people's decisions in this area. And the influence exerted can hardly be conducive to improved family stability. I leave it to those better qualified than I to attempt to gage the effect. Having attempted to spell out the dimensions and sources of the tax pressure on marriage, I will venture some suggestions as to how that pressure might be reduced or eliminated.

It may tempt some, as a means of enhancing family stability, to go further in the direction of favoring marriage through the tax system.

I reject this for two reasons. The first is that if married couples enjoy tax concessions these concessions will appear inequitable to widows and widowers and the "wronged" parties to divorces, none of whom chooses to be unmarried. And if the special tax treatment is extended to such people, holding the line against only some single people seems neither equitable nor politically viable.

My second reason is that legally identifiable and recognized marriage may or may not involve interpersonal relationships that are substantially different from those that may obtain in the absence of legal or religious sanction. Men of the cloth may preach, and any of us may moralize, but surely the tax code is not the appropriate vehicle for rewarding virtue or punishing sin. Rather, it seems to me that the tax system should incorporate a completely neutral stance in this regard.

With respect to the rate structure under the income tax, neutrality requires that income be taxed to the individual who earns it or to whom it accrues. Each individual in receipt of income would be a unit for taxation, including each of the two marriage partners. If one spouse had less than some minimal income he or she could be given dependency status. Putting aside problems relating to property income, this approach would insure that entry into or the dissolution of marriage would leave tax liability unaffected.

Property presents difficulties because of community property rules in eight States, and because property may readily be divided between husband and wife and tax liabilities thereby reduced in the absence of joint returns and income-splitting. It was the first of these considerations that led the Congress to introduce income-splitting in 1948. But the results would have been far preferable if, instead, the Congress had provided that State laws with regard to community property were not to be permitted to govern in allocation of income for purposes of the Federal income tax. It is this move that I urge at this time.

The distribution of property among family members now provides a means of reducing income tax liabilities. My proposal would simply add the spouse to the potential beneficiaries and would not pose a new set of problems. Whether or not the suggested change should be contemplated, there is much to be said for either a gift tax with a much more substantial bite than that imposed under present law, or the inclusion of major gifts in the income of the donee.

I would not be concerned about the allocation of exemptions for dependent children between parents as taxable entities. As I have suggested at length elsewhere, the present form of the exemption would be better abandoned in favor of an income-conditioned children's allowance patterned along lines not very different from the family allowance plan that was passed in the House but failed to gain approval in the Senate last year.

The problems presented by the cost of household services and child care deduction are readily solved. If the deduction is warranted for a couple with income of up to $18,000, it should also be warranted at higher levels of income. Thus all that is required is that the provision under which the deductible amount is reduced as income exceeds $18,000 be dropped.

If my first proposal, reestablishing the individual as the taxable unit, should be adopted neither the capital loss offset of not more than

$1,000 against other income nor the LIA or standard deduction would continue to present problems. Difficulties arise now because the amount of these deductions available is made to turn on whether two people are or are not married.

Under the suggestions offered here each income recipient would constitute a taxable entity irrespective of his or her marital status. Thus neither marriage nor dissolution of marriage would affect allowable deductions for capital losses, optional standard deduction, or LIA. Much the same can be said for the medical expense deduction.

I suspect that the present income tax, despite its obvious shortcomings, is not a major influence on family stability. But it does seem to me both inequitable and potentially disruptive of an institution that has served our society well, for the most part, to continue in the tax law those features that permit tax liability to turn in some appreciable measure on one's marital status.

It distresses me to think that A may never marry X on advice of their tax accountant.

Senator MONDALE. Is it your thesis that divorce is good business under the present tax laws then?

Mr. BRAZER. My wife and I have been calculating, Mr. Chairman, and clearly we would change nothing except the legal nature of our relationship. In the case of our circumstances, we would save enough per year to meet the cost of sending one of our children through college. What I am talking about is a tax saving of about $2,000 and $3,000 a year.

What that would require is that since the earned income is largely attributed to me, and my wife works hard, but is not paid for it in coin, assuming a divorce settlement under which the income would be equally divided between us, the alimony payments would be deductible from my return, and if our combined income is $30,000 a year, $15,000 would be taxable to her and $15,000 to me, and various other advantages that I have outlined would accrue.

Senator MONDALE. Did I understand you were suggesting that we rid ourselves of the so-called marital share or marital split in the calculations of taxes, get away from that, just include in the adjusted gross of each individual taxpayer the amount that he earns, is that what you were suggesting?

Mr. BRAZER. That is, Mr. Chairman, what I am suggesting. I have long been an advocate of regarding the household as the economic unit and the economic unit as the taxable entity, as the unit for taxation. But if one is concerned with neutrality with respect to marital status, and I think that becomes an increasingly important concern as lifestyles change and so on, then it seems to me that we can no longer rely, for purposes of computing tax liability, on a legal definition of marriage.

If there were some way, perhaps, of relying on a definition of marriage that turned, if I may say so, on substance rather than form, I might be willing to work harder to find some means other than the one suggested for solving the problem. But obviously the trouble with our pre-1969 Revenue Act system was that it seemed to impose such heavy burdens on single people, many of whom were in important respects no differently circumstanced than married couples.

There was a great deal of pressure in the Congress, as you may well know, to afford head of household status to single persons over age

35 who did not have dependents living with them, on the grounds that once you reach age 35 if you had not been married or perhaps even if you had, the prospects of your marrying were slight and you ought therefore to get head-of-household status anyway.

Senator MONDALE. Now, we have this deduction you refer to for child care, if your income is $18,000 or less, you can deduct the cost of child care——

Mr. BRAZER. Not only child care, but care of incapacitated dependents as well.

Senator MONDALE. But suppose your mother decided to work, you could put your children in the day care center and you can deduct the cost of that day care, right?

Mr. BRAZER. You can deduct the cost of care outside the home, but under somewhat less generous terms. For one child, you are permitted to deduct only $200 a month; two children, up to $300; three or more children, up to $400 a month.

Senator MONDALE. If you had three children, you could deduct $400 a month, which would be $4,800 a year, right?

Mr. BRAZER. Right.

Senator MONDALE. Now, if you decided to stay home and take care of the children, there are no deductions, right?

Mr. BRAZER. There is no deduction. All the law permits is that the value of the housewife's services not be included in income. In effect, it is an exclusion, but the same exclusion applies to all imputed income.

Senator MONDALE. You could say there is an economic incentive here through this tax to encourage mothers to work rather than stay home, could you not?

Mr. BRAZER. Oh, I think it is a distinct incentive, yes.

Senator MONDALE. I do not object to that, because I think that ought to be up to the individuals. But why do we not have a coequal tax benefit for mothers who are working at home through the form of liberal children's allowance or the form of a reasonable tax credit which reflected in some reasonable way the cost of rearing children?

Mr. BRAZER. Well, I could quote the old saying about virtue being its own reward, I suppose, but more seriously, the problem I would face with the suggestion is that since imputed income equal to the value of the housewife's services in the home—since that income is not included in income subject to tax, if we were then to allow certain deductions or credits, in effect we would be providing for deduction or exclusion of the same income twice.

Senator MONDALE. Are you against all deductions, then, for dependents?

Mr. BRAZER. My position is that the deduction or exemption for dependents now accrues very largely to middle and high income taxpayers. Therefore, it is as you yourself have stated earlier this morning, a kind of children's allowance that is stood on its head. It may be worth over $500 for those in the highest brackets, and it is worth zero for those who have no taxable income.

Senator MONDALE. Would it not be smarter to substitute a credit system of some kind?

Mr. BRAZER. A credit system, provided that the credit was not limited to the amount of one's tax liability.

Senator Mondale. So if you are poor, and say we give $400 credit and that had no significance to you because you owed no taxes, you would get, in effect, the negative income tax approach to help with the family?

Mr. Brazer. Yes. Essentially the plan to which I made reference, which is in the California Law Review article of 3 or 4 years ago, is precisely that. It is a credit, the amount of which varies inversely with income.

Senator Mondale. That is in California law now?

Mr. Brazer. It is in the California Law Review. It is a published paper; it is not the law.

Senator Mondale. Somebody wrote about it.

Mr. Brazer. It would function very much like the family allowance plan, as it came out of the House of Representatives.

Senator Mondale. You mean under H.R. 1, family allowance?

Mr. Brazer. Yes. This, essentially, was not quite a children's allowance, but it came very close to it in the sense that only families with children were eligible.

Senator Mondale. Yes, the working poor or the poor who had no children were not eligible?

Mr. Brazer. That is right. But it seems to me that if you were to remove the $750 exemption for children that is now allowed, the revenue saving realized would be a very substantial part of the cost of a meaningful program——

Senator Mondale. What does that deduction cost the Treasury, do you have any idea?

Mr. Brazer. Well, offhand I find it difficult to recall an overall figure, other than the figure which indicates that for each $100 change at the outset, the cost is $3 billion——

Senator Mondale. In deductions?

Mr. Brazer. For all exemptions, yes. The total number of exemptions claimed for children under 18 is some 70 million, so the total amount of actual deduction runs to about $50 billion, and my estimate is, as I calculated it right here in my head, the revenue cost of the exemption as it applies not to husband and wife, single taxpayer, et cetera, but only to children under 18, who would be eligible for the suggested children's allowance, the revenue cost to the Treasury is approximately $10 billion a year.

Senator Mondale. Thank you very much.

I have to go to the Senate Chamber and vote now. We will stand in recess until tomorrow morning.

[Whereupon, at 12:46 p.m., the subcommittee was recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Wednesday, September 26, 1973.]

AMERICAN FAMILIES: TRENDS AND PRESSURES, 1973

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1973

U. S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH OF THE
COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met pursuant to notice, at 10 a.m. in room 4232, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator Walter F. Mondale (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Mondale and Stafford.

Staff members present: A. Sidney Johnson III and Ellen Hoffman, professional staff members; and John K. Scales, minority counsel.

Senator MONDALE. The committee will come to order.

This morning we hold our third day of hearings on the topic of "American Families: Trends and Pressures."

We have a long, interesting witness list today, but if we are going to complete these hearings this morning, I think it will be necessary to limit the testimony to 10 minutes each so that we can have questions as well.

I will ask somebody on the staff to time these statements and let us know when 10 minutes are up.

Our first witness is Sophie B. Engel, speaking on behalf of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, and Mrs. Morton A. Langsfeld, of the Federation of Jewish Agencies of Greater Philadelphia.

We are pleased to have you with us this morning.

STATEMENT OF SOPHIE B. ENGEL, CONSULTANT, SOCIAL PLANNING, COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS, ON BEHALF OF PHILIP BERNSTEIN, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT; AND MRS. MORTON A. LANGSFELD, JR., CHAIRMAN, PLANNING COMMITTEE ON FAMILY AND INDIVIDUAL SERVICES, FEDERATION OF JEWISH AGENCIES OF GREATER PHILADELPHIA

Mrs. ENGEL. Good morning and thank you, Mr. Chairman.

My name is Sophie B. Engel and I am presenting testimony on behalf of Philip Bernstein, executive vice president of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. My position with the council is that of consultant on social planning.

The Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds is the national association of central community organizations—Jewish federations and community councils—serving close to 800 Jewish communities in the United States and Canada.

A major function of the council is to assist these community organizations in planning, developing and financing of health, welfare, cultural, and educational services.

Our member federations represent a network of health and welfare agencies which include Jewish family and children agencies, Jewish community recreational and informal educational centers, homes for the aged and chronically ill and general hospitals, hospitals under Jewish auspices in 22 cities.

We are pleased to have this opportunity to present our views on governmental policies affecting family stability and the well-being of children.

At our annual national assemblies we have continually pressed for the enactment of legislation to improve the quality and quantity of health and welfare programs. We believe the central issues affecting these developments are the following:

NATIONAL POLICY ON INCOME MAINTENANCE

Of overriding importance is the need for a national income policy with national standards of eligibility to assure that all people, including children, may have at least a minimum standard of living sufficient to maintain health, human decency, and dignity.

A first step in this direction was the enactment by Congress last year of the supplementary security income program which replaces the Federal-State programs of old-age assistance, aid to the blind, and aid to the permanently and totally disabled.

We strongly urge that this policy be extended to all eligible individuals and families in need, including those with both parents in the home and the "working poor."

Such legislation should include safeguards against any State lowering its present standards of assistance. It should also authorize Federal sharing in supplementation by States with higher standards.

We believe this would go far in correcting many of the present inequities.

At the present time families with the same income level but residing in different States are not eligible for the same services due to a wide variation in State policy on income eligibility requirements.

To overcome this manifest inequity eligibility for services which are subsidized in part or in whole by the Federal Government should be related to the Bureau of Labor Statistics adjusted minimum income standard.

NATIONAL COMMITMENT TO STRENGTHEN FAMILY LIFE

A national commitment to strengthen the unity of the family and to enhance the development of children is urgently required. It should be the concern of government to raise the quality of all of family life in the United States.

A comprehensive range of family and child care services should be available to all families and children who need them, with cost for services ranging from free to full payment depending upon the family's financial resources.

Unfortunately, the principal government program for families and children—the AFDC program—encourages separation and the disruption of family life. The requirements in many States that the father leave home in order that the mother and children qualify for AFDC should be eliminated and replaced by legislation that would encourage family stability and provide incentives to preserve the unity of the family.

Mothers should be enabled to serve the best interests of their children, and thereby of society, by having the option of remaining in their homes ar taking outside employment.

The sharp increase in the divorce rate and the growing number of single parent families headed by a female, the increasing number of women in the labor force, the large numbers of troubled and alienated youth—all these underscore the need for a strong government initiative to preserve and strengthen the family.

In addition to supportive services, such as counseling, homemaker services, day care and foster care when needed, emphasis should be placed on preventive programs, such as family life education, nutrition and health care, cultural enrichment programs for children and youth as well as vocational and career guidance.

If we are committed to a goal of strengthening family life, the range of family services and the eligibility requirements need to be broadened considerably beyond the restrictive limitations in the current draft of HEW's social service regulations.

The definition of family services should encompass services to support and reinforce parental care and services to supplement parental care as needed.

The prevention of financial dependency might be more possible of attainment if such services were made available to low- and moderate-income families at fees within their capacity to pay.

The experience of our agencies in providing services to children and their parents in their own homes has shown that the viability of the family unit can be preserved and strengthened—that placement in a foster home or in an institution can be avoided in many instances.

Institutionalization, unless absolutely necessary, is not only disruptive of family relationships and ties but is costly to the community.

DELIVERY SYSTEM

A network of community-based services should be made available to all in need, with easy access to the system through multiservice centers.

These centers should provide information and referral services, temporary emergency services, and other services either directly or through arrangements with other public or private agencies in the community.

Efforts should be directed toward coordination and integration of the many fragmented services to assure the provision of appropriate services as effectively and promptly as possible.

PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING

We trust that this hearing marks the beginning of a far-reaching and sustained effort on the part of the Federal Government to examine its policies in the context of strengthening family life and enhancing child development.

Legislation to effect needed changes will require the expenditure of public funds—and the gap between needs and resources is a perennial problem. It is essential that we also direct our efforts to creating public understanding of the need to conserve our human resources.

I should like to conclude by quoting an excerpt from the resolution on Urban Concerns and Public Welfare adopted at the 1972 assembly of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds:

"Underlying the inadequate measures to deal with America's human needs are the pervasive misconceptions regarding the nature of these problems and their causes. We deplore the growing tendency to demean and exploit the poor—the aged, disabled, and handicapped—whose disabilities genuinely entitle them to assistance.

"An imperative for productive action is to build far greater understanding among people generally, and particularly in the National, State and local legislatures. The popular misinformation and distortions are reflected in the regressive legislation which will increase rather than resolve the problems.

"Leaders of voluntary agencies have a special competence and responsibility, from their knowledge and experience, to help overcome the widespread myths about poverty, social needs and welfare.

"We urge that such efforts be undertaken and extended by the leaders of our federations and welfare funds, and by their associated and cooperating agencies."

Senator **Mondale**. Thank you very much for your testimony.

Mrs. Langsfeld?

Mrs. **Langsfeld**. I am greatly privileged to share today in your very important and essential examination of our American families. The trends, the pressures, and the vitality, are of extreme urgency, for careful assessment.

Both governmental and voluntary agencies have set up many policies and expenditure of dollars that have provided necessary services to children and families. However, it is a well-known fact that we, together, are simply not doing enough.

Family breakdown, physically ill parents and children, low income, emotional instability, and mental illness are but a few of the diagnoses made by professionals in these fields, and characterize cases today.

To insure family stability and the well-being of its members, we must find every possible means to provide services that are both preventive and supportive.

The Federation of Jewish Agencies of Greater Philadelphia serves children and youth through several different agencies. The very concept of Jewish family life—has been, always—the cornerstone of our community.

We are concerned with Jewish survival, a need to strengthen Jewish identity, and have developed a network of services to meet Jewish needs. The family unit has great significance by long tradition, and we continually develop the best possible ways in which to protect and strengthen it. Our objective is to keep families together, and it is to this end, that we direct our energies.

Government dollars have come to our agencies in several different ways—bringing about a partnership of mandated governmental responsibility and the private or voluntary dollar. This combination of funds has been used to extend or develop new approaches to improve the quality of a child's life.

A variety of settings must be offered by agencies today—so that an individual child receives help in the best possible way to suit his individual needs. Large institutions may have a place in some parts of the country, but in Philadelphia, we have found that this type of care is not in the best interests of children.

We have developed creative types of foster homes, small group homes, and services to children in their own homes. These are to us, the best resources to help children who can no longer continue in their family patterns because of their own problems, or when parents are unable to care for their children.

The role of the voluntary agency is of tremendous importance. It provides training, standards setting, rich and creative supportive services, using volunteers as well as professional staff.

The Association for Jewish Children, a member agency of the Federation of Jewish Agencies, is a striking example of a successful preventive program; that is, services to children in their own homes. This is a valid trend in the field of child care, and has been able to show that family breakdown is preventable.

Here in this agency, it is quite evident that sound casework services for a single family in its own home, bring greater strength to the parent-child relationship. Also, the child has a better chance to function on his own, thus avoiding separation, or a long-term placement.

It is my opinion that increased services to children in their own homes will bring substantial changes in the present bleak outlook for troubled children in our communities. We must find every possible way to provide funds for this much needed service.

Somehow, Government seems to fail to recognize the importance of such preventive services, as well as the funding. (No Government funds are available for purchase of service from the voluntary agencies for services to children in their own homes.)

The only possibility to receive this service is through the voluntary agency where funds are very limited. Thus, only a small number of children can receive such care.

Here, the problem becomes even more complicated because the voluntary dollars that must come from the private sector, such as, United Funds, just are not available in all the agencies.

What is the answer? Surely Government funds must provide these services, and they are a serious and pressing investment consideration. If there can be an emphasis upon prevention then from a purely monetary outlook dollars spent here will be translated into dollars saved, in hospitals and institutions of long-term placement.

Damaged children become lost children if help is not offered in their early years. Family breakdown is a priority concern and must bring priority dollars as well as highly skilled professional workers. Increased family hardships and breakdowns of children are inevitable if we do not include services to children in their own homes in Government policy.

In child care services, foster homes and group residences are used for children whose parents are unable to care for them properly, and separation is indicated. The choice for care is dependent upon the individual needs of the individual child.

The goals and dreams of our agencies are to provide a variety of settings—a chance for every child. Government must take a hard look at these manifold needs.

Institutions and group homes can be long, frustrating and often sad placements, with little hope for a child. Services to children in their own home is not foolproof but very worthy of an early choice of services. With a great investment of creative skills, we find tremendous successes. We must invest in new ways to achieve our goals.

Dollars are a necessary consideration in all child care. If we look at comparative costs of different types of care, the picture is very striking. The costs spiral upward, dependent upon the extent of damage to a child. In Philadelphia we spend for one child in a single year—these are approximate costs:

One thousand dollars for services to children in their own homes: $5,000 to $8,000 for placement in foster homes or group homes; $10,500 in residential type group homes.

In a Pennsylvania mental hospital that serves children the State spends approximately $23,000 a year, per child. In a private agency in suburban Philadelphia the cost is $17,000 per child.

If our goal is to help families to remain intact, it is glaringly seen that as the cost goes upward, so must the funds become available to us. The sad truth is that we do not have enough dollars, and thus, children are waiting.

If prevention is the answer to child problems in the United States, we must provide more of the supplementary services that can make the difference between family health and breakdown. Also, it is necessary, if we are to discharge our collective responsibilities, that a full range of services be made available in our agencies.

We have developed many of them that are essential for family rebuilding, such as day care, counseling, homemaker services, and family life education. Governmental and voluntary dollars are matched in some of these in order to reach the greatest number of children.

In other of these services, voluntary and demonstration dollars provide the help to families. I sincerely hope that increased funds will be made available since the need is so demanding.

In this field of child care, every professional and lay person must continue to seek ways and funds to give every child a fair chance to live and grow. Possible family breakdown is reduced when we have the most effective and productive skills and tools to keep families intact.

Not only is the economically deprived segment of our communities in need of preventive services, but a great segment of the borderline working class, and middle class are, also. They simply cannot afford these services and they are left unserved.

In conclusion, I am extremely anxious and hopeful that our Government will take cognizance of the tremendous gap that exists between needs and available funding, particularly in the care for children in their own homes. It is an extremely important alternative to separation of children from their parents.

In our country we have the greatest obligation to support and strengthen family life. I believe that preventive services are a priority concern that hold hope and promise of future healthy and happy human beings.

I do thank the chairman and this committee for the opportunity to present these views on the very crucial matter of American families, and our deep concern for future generations.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for two excellent statements. I note that both of you emphasize the importance of trying to work with the family and keep children with the family rather than to institutionalize children and provide care for them there.

Has it been your experience that that is the most successful strategy? I gather that you are saying that it is also much cheaper. What about the argument one hears that some families are just incapable of properly caring for their children, say, a family with serious mental health problems, physical disabilities or drug problems that impair the capacity for caring for the child?

How do you deal with that?

Mrs. LANGSFELD. I think when families come to a private agency or the city department of public welfare, the intake worker can assess their problems.

If the children are so beaten and the family is not able to live together, then perhaps there is no alternative except for separation.

Our agencies have an opportunity to provide services in the home. For example, a father may not be able to get up in the morning. This is the kind of thing we consider a supplementary need the ability to begin to live all over again. This is where services to children in their own homes has the best possibility. It offers much hope at a much earlier time to families with living troubles.

I think that parents are not always ready to separate and break up their family living. They tend to say we will put it off. In the meantime, damage is continuing to grow.

That is why I believe we should have services to children in their own homes, and give the families a chance to have these auxiliary services which are available with skillful professional planning.

Senator MONDALE. Do you care to answer?

Mrs. ENGEL. One of the major thrusts of our services to families and children has been just this: To do as much as we can to provide the services in the homes of the families and the children in order to try to strengthen the unit as much as possible through counseling, through some of these other types of services which help to reinforce what the parents are trying to do but may not be capable of doing.

Senator MONDALE. Do you find that the public welfare agencies share your concern on strategies in Philadelphia?

Mrs. LANGSFELD. I believe the city department has great concern that they are not able to provide the auxiliary services, and the necessary casework. I am afraid this is what it amounts to because of the large caseloads of city workers.

In a voluntary agency, we are able to offer services where we have perhaps 200 volunteers who are professionally capable of doing jobs which supplement the professional casework that is needed.

I know that the Department of Public Welfare and the State Department are anxious that these services be initiated.

Senator MONDALE. Do you limit your service to Jewish families?

Mrs. LANGSFELD. Yes, sir, in Philadelphia purchase of service for children is done by religion. The Catholic children are cared for by the Catholic Social Service and the Children's Aid Society of Philadelphia takes the Protestant children.

We believe we have been able to work this out well together, in terms of being eligible, for Government dollars. In terms of serving just Jewish children, we have formed a consortium of all these agencies where at intake every child is then placed according to his religion.

Senator **Mondale**. You referred to some instances where your private voluntary efforts can be matched with private funds. I presume that is what we call Title IV-A of the Social Security Act?

Mrs. **Langsfeld**. That is right.

Senator **Mondale**. As you know, last year when we had the fight over what IV-A might do to the State on a revenue sharing basis the administration wanted to strike from the list of permissible expenditures many legitimate services. They wanted no flexibility in that area. These restrictive regulations were postponed for 4 months because of some legislation we passed.

We are now back at it again, trying to keep the broadest possible range of authority in the local community and working with private voluntary services to do the kind of specialized efforts that help in this area.

I hope we are going to be successful in doing that.

I just returned from Israel and I couldn't help being impressed by the fact that although their budget for defense is 25 percent of the gross national product, they have universal kindergarten at age 4 and I think they have about 40 percent of the 3-year olds getting some kind of help in the home, plus a children's allowance program to try to strengthen the family.

One wonders what happened to our commitment because we are fighting over whether it is even legitimate to spend money to strengthen the family. In most States, as you point out, a condition for aid for children is that the husband leave the home. It is not enough that he be unemployed.

Yesterday we had a tax expert from Michigan who showed if given a certain set of circumstances, you made money on getting a divorce under the U.S. tax laws. I do not know if that is accurate or not, but he had a certain set of calculations.

In any event, it is quite clear that I think our country has been dealing with symptoms when, in fact, the fundamental institution of American life is the family. When it is strong and healthy, lots of things follow. As Dr. Coles said yesterday, the family is the basic source of ethical and moral training in this country. The States cannot do that. The family and churches must do that.

When the family breaks down, the basic teaching of morality and ethics disappears. I think we have seen the cost of that strategy to American life.

Mrs. **Langsfeld**. I think what you are saying is so pertinent to Philadelphia where all of our agencies regardless of religious base are funded together, primarily under the United Fund.

We have spent many months speaking to this point and hoping that together the government and the voluntary sector can find ways to complement each other and work together.

I think this must be our position. It is not one way or the other.

Senator **Mondale**. In Minnesota, we have the same consortium. At first we had problems because they thought people did not want to share with the private sector, but I think we need to have both working together.

Thank you very much.

Mrs. **Langsfeld.** Thank you.

Mrs. **Engel.** Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **Mondale.** Our next witnesses are Monsignor McHugh, director of the family life division, U.S. Catholic Conference, and his associates.

We are pleased to have you with us this morning.

You may proceed as you wish.

STATEMENTS OF MSGR. JAMES C. McHUGH, DIRECTOR, FAMILY LIFE DIVISION, U.S. CATHOLIC CONFERENCE; MSGR. LAWRENCE J. CORCORAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC CHARITIES, ACCOMPANIED BY MATHEW H. AHMANN, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR FOR GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS, NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC CHARITIES

Father **McHugh.** I am Msgr. James T. McHugh, director of the family life division of the U.S. Catholic Conference. At the very outset I wish to commend Senator Mondale and the Senate Subcommittee on Children and Youth for holding hearings on family life in the United States.

I welcome the opportunity to appear before this committee and present testimony on how the Nation—particularly in its laws and public policy—may provide positive support for the contemporary American family.

The formulation of a clear, coherent, and consistent family policy is a major item on the national agenda as we begin the last quarter of the 20th century. At every moment of the Nation's history the family has been a most important social unit.

However, in recent decades we have become aware that many of our major social problems are the result of family instability and weakened family ties. And family instability is at least partially due to our failure to adopt a comprehensive and a realistic family centered policy.

The object of wise social policy is not only the physical well-being of individual persons, but also their emotional stability, moral growth, and ability to live in society and relate to others.

Moreover, social policy should be directed not only to the individual, but to the greatest degree possible, to the family unit as well.

The realization that the family is an important social unit has never been totally ignored or denied. If anything, the family suffered more from the ambivalence of policymakers than from outright neglect. It also suffered from the lack of an advocate that would constantly present its interests and concerns in the halls of government.

Moreover, there are specific values in our society that seemed to be at odds with the values of family life. For instance, the American commitment to individualism focused on the autonomous person rather than the person as a member of a family.

The commitment to private enterprise has placed the family in a secondary position to national economic goals. Government has been reluctant to restrict or constrain business or industry for the good of the family unit. Thus, child labor laws, equal employment opportunity regardless of sex, color, or creed, concern for the family life of agricultural and migratory workers have been recent achievments or remain goals still to be attained.

Again, the ethnic, cultural, and religious pluralism of our Nation has made it difficult to identify one form of family life as specifically American and thus to provide social support for such an ideal.

I consider these hearings very important because instead of trying to grapple with the wording of a specific piece of legislation, we are dealing with much broader concepts which are a necessary prelude to the formulation of good public policy.

It is time to break fresh ground and attempt the formulation of a national policy directed toward supporting the quality and stability of family life. There are a number of things that such a policy might accomplish.

First of all, a national family policy might well become the cornerstone for a corpus of social legislation that would benefit all Americans. Such policy need not be complex or terribly detailed. Its major impact will be in shaping legislation and directing the energies of government for the years ahead. As Daniel P. Moynihan describes it:

> "A national family policy need only declare that it is the policy of the American Government to promote the stability and well-being of the American family; that the social programs of the Federal Government will be formulated and administered with this object in mind; and finally that the President, or some person designated by him, perhaps the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, will report to the Congress on the condition of the American family in all its many facets—not of the American family, for there is as yet no such thing, but rather of the great range of American families in terms of regions, national origins and economic status."

Second, a family policy should be directed toward assisting the family play its proper role as the Nation itself undergoes a radical transformation and renewal. The questions that face us as a nation are questions of values, and they are increasingly raised by today's youth. As Cohn and Connery point out in a highly perceptive article on "Government Policy and the Family":

> "Studies of values and attitudes have persistently demonstrated that the family is the primary source of both our individual and collective orientations and that this insttiution must be engaged if we are to acheive a lasting modification of values. The problems that confront the United States in the present day are problems that basically demand a radical shift in our values."

Third, a family policy should help the family maximize its strengths.

Following up on the questions you addressed to the former witnesses, we should deal with the development of attitudes during the adolescent years. This means programs of education that will enable young people to understand not only sexual function but sexual rseponsibility. It includes programs that will enable married couples to enrich their married lives. For practical purposes, we have nothing by way of educational preparation for marriage and family life.

Senator Mondale. It used to be that that absence of the family training you referred to was partly alleviated by the grandparents or someone who lived in the house in a three-generation home. However, now many grandparents are off in the senior citizens high rise and they are not around to help the young parents.

I think the point you made is ever more compelling.

Father McHugh. The standard model of family life today is not the extended family as you describe it nor is it the isolated nuclear family. Rather, it is something in between. As we begin to develop this new model that resembles the kinship-type model, the contemporary family often feels the need for supportive structures.

It is an important role of government to help those new structures develop, not to accomplish government's aims, but the family's aims.

Fourth, we must develop some capacity to represent, and indeed advocate, the concerns of the family in the formulation of social policy that directly or indirectly affects family life.

For practical purposes, this means an ombudsman that monitors all health, education, and welfare legislation, which at present is still directed toward the needs of the individual or the good of society, with no recognition of the family as the basic social unit.

Fifth, government policy affecting the family should recognize and support the corollary efforts of churches, private foundations, and agencies.

Sixth government policy should respect the pluralism of family heritages and family styles. Otto Pollack maintains that the function that has truly been taken away from families is the autonomy of setting its own standards. The family has been subjected to the tinkering of the social experimenters, the ineptitude of the bureaucrats and domination by self-proclaimed specialists.

It is time for the family to assert its own power against the expert, and protect itself against becoming simply one more factor in the utopian schemes of today's social planners.

Senator Mondale. Give me a couple of examples of what you had in mind.

Father McHugh. People speak in general terms of support for family life, but in reality they have not thought that through. One of the examples that comes to mind is the veto of the child care program last year. On reflection, the arguments brought forth to sustain the charge that child care programs destroy family life are not compelling.

Senator Mondale. As you remember, one of the central debates in the development of that bill was whether the control over the services would be in the hands of the parents whose children were in the program or in the hands of a State welfare department.

Father McHugh. There was also a great deal of misunderstanding as to what was meant by a family advocate in that bill, and what were to be the responsibilities of the family advocate in assisting families.

Much of the difficulty in regard to proposals for no-fault divorce law comes from the fact that many State legislatures are looking for ways to streamline divorce procedures without addressing themselves to what they must do to support the family unit. Very little intensive investigation as to what is necessary to support the family is present in the overall debate.

I would like to end on a positive note. It is frequently thought that the family is a fragile, confused, conservative institution buffeted about by the winds of change, and seeking some isolated niche apart from the world.

On the contrary, the family is a flexible and resilient institution, one in which personalism can thrive, and one that can exert a directive, indeed a revolutionary force in the larger society.

It is the role of government to suport the family unit, and the family in turn must bring about a reordering of national priorities so as to maintain and support the basic human values of respect for the person, community and transcendence.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Monsignor McHugh follows:]

SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH
COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

TESTIMONY OF REV. MSGR. JAMES T. McHUGH
DIRECTOR, FAMILY LIFE DIVISION
UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CONFERENCE
SEPTEMBER 26, 1973

I am Msgr. James T. McHugh, Director of the Family Life Division of the United States Catholic Conference. At the very outset I wish to commend Senator Mondale and the Senate Subcommittee on Children and Youth for holding hearings on family life in the United States. I welcome the opportunity to appear before this Committee and present testimony on how the nation--particularly in its law and public policy--may provide positive support for the contemporary American family.

The formulation of a clear, coherent and consistent family policy is a major item on the national agenda as we begin the last quarter of the twentieth century. At every moment of the nation's history the family has been a most important social unit. However, in recent decades we have become aware that many of our major social problems are the result of family instability and weakened family ties. And family instability is at least partially due to our failure to adopt a comprehensive and a realistic family centered policy. The object of wise social policy is not only the physical wellbeing of individual persons, but also their emotional stability, moral growth and ability to live in society and relate to others. Moreover, social policy should be directed not only to the individual, but to the greatest degree possible, to the family unit as well.

The realization that the family is an important social unit in our society has never been totally ignored or denied. If anything, the family suffered more from the ambivalence of policy-makers than from outright neglect. It also suffered from the lack of an advocate that would constantly present its interests and concerns in the halls of government. Moreover, there are specific values in our society that seemed to be at odds with the values of family life. For instance, the American commitment to individualism focused on the autonomous person rather than the person as member of a family. The commitment to private enterprise has placed the family in a secondary position to national economic goals. Government has been reluctant to restrict or constrain business or industry for the good of the family unit. Thus, child labor laws, equal employment opportunity regardless of sex, color or creed, concern for the family life of agricultural and migratory workers have been recent achievements or remain goals still to be attained. Again, the ethnic, cultural, and religious pluralism of our nation has made it difficult to identify one form of family life as specifically American and thus to privide social support for such an ideal.

Within government, concern for the family was tucked away in the Womens Bureau in the Department of Labor and the Children's Bureau in the

Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Neither agency was noted for an integralist approach to family life.

During the sixties, concentration on racial inequality, on poverty, and on the problems of minorities led to a rash of well-intentioned but less than satisfactory government programs. It was not a lack of will or of imagination that robbed us of success in our attempts at social improvement. Rather, it was the absence of clearly defined policies that would govern the myriad programs that were initiated at both the federal and state level. For the most part, these programs were experimental or therapeutic, but they lacked careful evaluation and follow-up. Thus, the limited successes were lost in a sea of frustration, distrust and intensified resentment.

It is time to break fresh ground and attempt the formulation of a national policy directed toward supporting the quality and stability of family life. There are a number of things that such a policy might accomplish.

First of all, a national family policy might well become the cornerstone for a corpus of social legislation that would benefit all Americans. Such policy need not be complex or terribly detailed. Its major impact will be in shaping legislation and directing the energies of government for the years ahead. As Daniel P. Moynihan describes it,

> "A national family policy need only declare that it is the policy of the American government to promote the stability and well-being of the

> American family; that the social programs of the Federal government will be formulated and administered with this object in mind; and finally that the President, or some person designated by him, perhaps the Secretary of Health , Education and Welfare, will report to the Congress on the condition of the American family in all its many facets--not of the American family, for there is as yet no such thing, but rather of the great range of American families in terms of regions, national origins and economic status." 1

Secondly, a family policy should be directed toward assisting the family play its proper role as the nation itself undergoes a radical transformation and renewal. The questions that face us as a nation are questions of values, and they are increasingly raised by today's youth. How do we eliminate poverty and discrimination while committed to an economic system built on capitalism, free enterprise and heavily tinged with materialism? How do we maintain the value of human life while allocating many of our resources to readiness for war, while we delay in a total revision of our criminal law and penal system, and while we allow the highest court of the land to ignore the evidence of science and of history in deciding that certain classes of human beings shall not be entitled to protection of the basic rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness promised bythe Founding Fathers? How do we instill confidence in the democratic system, and maintain the values of honesty and integrity, when so many people look upon public service with cynicism and distrust?

The family is that basic social unit that is prepared to grapple with the value questions and to weigh the speculative theory in terms of the experience of human living. As Cohen and Connery point out in a highly perceptive article on "Government Policy and the Family",

> We suspect that a revitalization of the family represents a neglected opportunity in the resolution of this crisis. As an institution, it has demonstrated a remarkable resilience and a capacity to adapt to a wide range of circumstances. It has provided a transitional experience for the individual that has linked past, present, and future. It has been a major source of cultural innovation and has proved its worth in the most simple and complex societies. Studies of values and attitudes have persistently demonstrated that the family is the primary source of both our individual and collective orientations and that this institution must be engaged if we are to achieve a lasting modification of values. The problems that confront the United States in the present day are problems that basically demand a radical shift in our values. As we move towards the solution of our problems, it is almost inevitable that we will make many false starts or that the transition to new patterns of society will create new stresses. The family, among all of our institutions, is uniquely equipped to cushion these shocks and to ease the strains that are an inevitable consequence of change. Yet if the family is to fulfill this need, it must be restored to a central place in our perception of the nature of our society and provided with the resources which will make possible the fulfillment of this role. This can only be accomplished by a major shift in government policy and action with respect to the family." [2]

Thirdly, a family policy should help the family maximize its strengths. The family is where deepest interpersonal relationships are formed and lived out. The relationship of husband and wife is characterized by intimacy, fidelity, mutual respect, multi-faceted communication, understanding and trust. Children are born and grow up in this environment where they come to know themselves as individuals and in relation to other persons. In the family the child crystallizes his or her own sexual identity, and achieves satisfaction, confidence and security in developing basic aptitudes and talents. Finally, as children grow to adulthood and parents see succeeding generations come into existence, a loose-knit kinship structure perdures. It is the responsibility of government to assist the family in playing its role, fulfilling its functions and achieving its destiny.

Specifically, government policy should be directed toward helping young couples achieve close interpersonal union in marriage. At the least, this entails avoiding anything that endangers the relationship. On the positive side, educational priorities should be re-examined. Family life education is still virtually non-existent in our schools, and contemporary attempts in this area are often fragmented, ambivalent, or limited. We need a system of family life education that helps young people understand the responsibilities of marriage, sexuality, and parenthood, that prepares married couples to deepen their personal intimacy without isolating themselves from society, that restores a sense of community with generations that have preceded them and with those that follow.

Moreover, in our highly technologized society, individuals and married couples frequently reach an impasse where personal identity or the marriage itself is threatened. Readily available counseling facilities and supportive health care opportunities are often needed but sadly lacking. There is a definite need for more realistic federal legislation and funding in the mental health field that will assist married couples and families to deal with the stresses and strains of modern society. Although there is a trend in family counseling toward treating the individual as a member of a family, the multi-million dollar investment of the federal government in programs dealing with alcholism, drug addiction, delenquency, mental illness, gerontology and mental retardation often attempt to build substitutes for the family rather than assisting the family to help the person in need when that is possible.

Fourthly, though I am reluctant to suggest increasing the bureacracy in Washington or in the many state capitols throughout the nation, we must develop some capacity to represent,and indeed advocate, the concerns of the family in the formulation of social policy that directly or indirectly affects family life. For practical purposes, this means an ombudsman that monitors all health, education and welfare legislation, which at present is still directed toward the needs of the individual or the good of society, with no recognition of the family as this basic social unit.

Fifthly, government policy affecting the family should recognize and support the corrollary efforts of churches, private foundations and agencies, and other family assistance groups. The United States can learn much from Great Britan and other European nations about the role of the para-professional. For instance, there is a fairly well established network of marriage counseling centers throughout the British Isles in which the counselors are married persons who have special training, but are not certified psychologists or psychiatrists. The marriage counseling center includes a staff of professionals who are available for referal and for supervision of the para-professionals, and this system is fairly effective in helping troubled families.

Sixthly, government policy should respect the pluralism of family heritages and family styles. Otto Pollack maintains that the function that has truly been taken away from families is the autonomy of setting its own standards. The family has been subjected to the tinkering of the social experimenters, the ineptitude of the bureaucrats and domination by self-proclaimed specialists. It is time for the family to assert its own power against the expert, and protect itself against becoming simply one more factor in the utopian schemes of today's social planners.

At this point I wish to make some tentative suggestions on how government policy and other social forces can support family life.

1. WORK - Two of the most important things in people's lives are what they do, i.e., their work, and who cares about them and their accomplishments. There is abundant evidence that when a person's job is stultifying, frustrating or unrewarding, work performance suffers. Worse than that, the

person tends to lose self-esteem, and in time may give up working and become delinquent in terms of other responsibilities. It is important that government and industry try to eliminate dead-end jobs and generally improve working conditions, particularly in blue-collar jobs. But it is also important that American business treat the white collar worker with respect and regard for his family life. Continual relocation, constant travel, treating the employee as a possession of the company are things that disrupt family life and destroy personal stability. Everyone needs some leisure and solitude to think, relax, and share the experiences of family growth.

The wage scale normally reflects the amount of work, the skill of the worker, the longevity of employment, and the position held by the worker. In too many cases a man must moonlight or a woman may be forced to work so that family income may keep pace with the cost of living. Married and single persons receive the same wage, with the results that families bear a disproportionate share of the financial burden of supporting the next generation. One of the ways of equalizing the financial burden, and of providing special assistance to poor families is by way of a family allowance system. This may also be the first step toward a complete revision of the welfare system.

2. HEALTH CARE - Scientific progress has enabled us to overcome many fatal diseases, and to restore health and physical function in many circumstances where previously a person became an invalid. But the availability of health care is limited by cost, by circumstance, and by inadequate systems

of delivering health care service. There is an increasing role for government to play in establishing a national health care program that would assure quality service to all persons, economically, equitably and with dignity. Again, the needs of families should be an incentive to legislators to find the proper plan

3. EDUCATION - America is distinguished among the nations of the world for its commitment to general education. At present, that practically includes college for every child, placing the young person in a prolonged period of dependency and increasing the financial and emotional costs of parenting. As a result, young men and women spend years in an academic sub-culture where deep interpersonal relationships develop but where marriage is not possible and where the final reward of the entire venture is increasingly uncertain. Consequently, the cost and practicality of higher education is increasingly called into question. Of greater concern is the narrowness of approach of the present system. There is still great need for specialized educational programs including technical and vocational training, education for handicapped persons, adult education programs for personal enrichment, and government assisted alternatives to the public school. Moreover, though the major waves of immigrants have generally been assimilated, special approaches should be developed to transmit the cultural heritages of the black and brown population to the coming generations.

I would like to end on a positive note. It is frequently thought that the family is a fragile, confused, conservative institution buffeted about by the winds of change, and seeking some isolated niche apart from the world. On the contrary, the family is a flexible and resilient institution, one in which personalism can thrive, and one that can exert a directive, indeed a revolutionary force in the larger society. It is the role of government to support the family unit, and the family in turn must bring about a re-ordering of national priorities so as to maintain and support the basic human values of respect for the person, community, and transcendence. I believe it is well summed up in this statement by Leon Kass:

> "The family is rapidly becoming the only institution in an increasingly impersonal world where each person is loved not for what he does or makes, but simply because he is. The family is also the institution where most of us, both as children and as parents, acquire a sense of continuity with the past and a sense of commitment to the future. Without the family, most of us would have little incentive to take an interest in anything after our own deaths. These observations suggest to me that the elimination of the family would weaken ties to past and present, and would throw us even more on the mercy of an impersonal, lonely present." [3]

NOTES

[1] "A Family Policy for the Nation," Daniel P. Moynihan, from America, Sept. 18, 1965, pp. 280 ff.

[2] Journal of Marriage and the Family, Vol. 29, No. 1, Feb. 1967.

[3] "Making Babies--the New Biology and the 'Old' Morality,' Leon R. Kass, The Public Interest, No. 26, Winter, 1972, p. 51.

Senator **Mondale.** Thank you. Let's hear next the statement of Monsignor Corcoran.

Father **Corcoran.** I am Msgr. Lawrence J. Corcoran, executive director of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, which serves some 1,500 member agencies and institutions throughout the United States.

We have submitted a rather comprehensive statement for the record.

Senator **Mondale.** It will be included in the record at the conclusion of your testimony.

Father **Corcoran.** I will just touch some of the highlights. Unfortunately, all too briefly.

I have asked Mr. Mathew Ahmann of our staff, who is the associate director for government relations, to help out with any questions.

We are concerned about and serve all families, but we have a special concern for low-income families.

We, too, are pleased that these hearings are being held. We want to add our word of commendation for what you are doing.

The influence of Government on family life is significant and needs constant examination to make sure it strengthens family life rather than weakens or destroys it.

The total health of our country depends on the health and strength of family life. The responsibility placed on the Government to promote the general welfare is an implicit charge to have a concern for family life which includes not parceling out to the States this responsibility. Unfortunately, this does not always happen. Witness the present economic policies which have produced inflation and high food prices, and the housing policies.

To take the individual items which are outlined in the material that this committee provided, we address ourselves to the first one on work. We want to stress that income and financial security are essential for the maintenance of strong family life including the extended family. Unemployment, underemployment, inadequate and unsatisfactory work conditions develop tensions in families which frequently result in disintegration of families, force mothers of small children to work and separate children from their parents.

Therefore, there must be a strong and expanding economy designed for maximum employment opportunity with reasonable family supporting minimum wages for all employees.

As a part of this overall Government policy, there should be an employment opportunity program which not only includes work training but also provides meaningful job opportunities, with the Government in the role of employer of last result.

We need better urban mass transportation systems to provide better access to employment, so that those who are confined to the inner city can get to better job opportunities.

In this regard, it seems increasingly evident that this cannot be done without the infusion of the public interest in the form of public tax moneys in our mass transportation system.

Even more, there is the need to develop a strong neighborhood economic strategy which will bring jobs closer to the people. One of the advantages of this would be the provision of a visible example of work for children who are growing up.

With regard to the institutional situation and foster care, I think we can say that while there are some examples of unnecessary institutionalization of children, this is not the danger that it used to be. As a matter of fact, the population of our institutions is down and many are changing their programs, going particularly into residential treatment programs or day care programs. This has been brought about in part by the development of good children's services, such as adoption, placement, of homemaker services, day care, and so forth.

I would subscribe to much of what Mr. Engel and Mrs. Langsfeld talked about. We touched upon those things more in our overall statement. They touched it very definitely in their verbal statement and I would want to subscribe to those same specifics.

These programs of homemaker service and day care need to be strengthened as supports for family life. They should be made more readily available for the economically marginal family. The restrictions in the social service regulations recently published by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare run contrary to this. There has already been reference to that. The eligibility should be broadened. The services should be broadened. Preventive services should be included. This is one of the cries that comes from our people constantly.

Senator MONDALE. I cannot understand that. First of all, the theory of revenue sharing is to send the money home and then the people back home decide what to do. If that is true, all Washington should do is send the money home.

We have heard the testimony about keeping the family in the home. That it is much cheaper. I believe we have a program in Minnesota, for example, dealing with senior citizens in their apartments and homes, bringing them hot meals and encouraging young people to go talk to them so they are not lonesome.

Perhaps they need to go see the doctor once a week and, for very little money, we can keep these people where they want to be, in their own homes. Without those services, they have to go into public housing with enormous public subsidies which are much more expensive.

We are now told we cannot do that. That seems not only bad in terms of human values but it is ignorant of economic values.

Father CORCORAN. The Government has recognized consistently the more expensive nature of the institutional care but, at the same time, most of the emphasis has been on some kind of institutional program or at least favoring that type of care as distinct from services.

It has always been much easier to get reimbursements for care of children than for services to children.

Unnecessary institutionalization of the mentally ill and mentally retarded does take place. Even after we prepared this statement we read of that terrible case in Ohio where a person 100 years old has been in an institution unnecessarily for most of his life.

However, more services are needed to enable such persons to remain in their own home and in the community.

One of the greatest strains on families is that imposed by illness or the breakdown in the health of the family members. The inadequacy of our medical delivery system and the emphasis on crisis care results in needless institutionalization of parents and children.

The country needs a universal health insurance program and a reorientation of health delivery to see that health needs are adequately met and to insure that the emphasis is on preventive care.

Mobility does impose great strains on families. I would briefly mention two items. First is the effect of industries taking jobs out of the neighborhood. Some kind of a program such as that of the Office of Economic Adjustment in the Defense Department should be more generally available. The business or industry which moves should assume some responsibility for what happens in their former location and other employment opportunities must be developed.

Senator MONDALE. That is a very important point. The autoworkers recently had a survey about what their members were most worried about. One of their concerns was compulsory overtime. Some of these people have been working 10 hours a day and Saturdays and Sundays for 2 years. Apparently, that is now being worked out a little in the negotiations that are underway.

Plant closing was the No. 1 issue that worried them. They have seen so many examples of a plant closing with no responsibility at all for those they leave behind, the families or the communities.

We are working on a plant closing bill to try to explore the anatomy of plant closing: Why do they do it and where are they going; what responsibility do they have to the families and workers they leave behind as far as pensions and unemployment insurance?

Father MCHUGH. I think much the same concern should be given to the junior executive. The way that major industries in our country depersonalize the junior executive and his family by frequent transfers and leaving him in one place for only a brief period of time deprives the children of the stability they should have.

This same problem has been looked at with the blue-collar worker but we have ignored the white-collar worker.

Senator MONDALE. For some reason, they don't want unions. Maybe they don't dare have them if they want to go up the executive ladder.

We have heard a great deal of testimony on the way they have moved them indiscriminately. The same is true in the armed services. There, families are moved all the time. I do not see how their children can settle down and feel secure. The most prevalent group is the migrant workers. A study was made of the insecurity of the migrant workers' children. This migrant work makes it a difficult problem for them to grow up in a stable surrounding.

Father CORCORAN. I would like to say that it would help if you developed some legislation such as you are talking about on plant closings.

The business community has found it advantageous to meet the economic costs when it moves executives. Perhaps the same benefits for the average worker ought to be looked into especially where the wage earner cannot find equivalent employment locally. Some assistance should be considered. This might have to be a shared responsibility between the public and private sectors.

When we come to the welfare situation we once again, express the same kind of continued concern that we have had through the years, and to which we have testified time and time again. We would want to say here that the prime goal of our welfare system should be to protext, nurture, and strengthen family life.

In some of the welfare legislation in the past, there has been an expression regarding strengthening family life and some reference was made earlier to that as a goal; but really it has been such piecemeal legislation and such inadequate legislation that in practice it has never been really adhered to as a goal. This means, among other things, the guarantee of an adequate income floor below which no one should be expected to subsist.

We talk about the fears of families; this income security or insecurity is one of the main fears.

The public social services program should be primarily aimed at strengthening family life. The primary use of a social service program should not be to force people off welfare into just any kind of employment, desirable as an employment goal is. The first goal should be the strengthening of family life.

We are very disturbed by the backward direction of present administration policies which will result in the refusal of assistance to needy families, will condemn families to subpoverty level existence, cause fathers to leave home, and are generally destructive of family life.

In the whole area of the social services problem, we do say something in our statement about the public-private shared responsibility. I will not dwell on that. I will subscribe to what the immediately previous witnesses have indicated, because we see eye to eye on this matter.

Our tax system has a serious impact on family life, obviously. One of its goals, likewise, should be to strengthen family life. I think this is very seldom thought of as a goal within the tax system.

I will mention the item of deductibles. The present ones are not large enough for the low and moderate income family to encourage family stability and development.

I will now pass on the last item of housing, zoning, and urban development. Once again, housing and neighborhoods have a strong influence on family life. When we talk about housing, we would like to underscore the fact that housing should be sufficient for some extended family relationships if we are going to relate housing to healthy family life.

As a country, we proclaimed noble goals for housing in the legislation passed by Congress in 1948 and 1969. In 1948 we said that a decent home and a decent neighborhood for families was important. In 1969 we set 2,600,000 units a year for 10 years as our goal, with 1,000,000 of these to be for moderate- and low-income families. However, we have now abandoned these goals. We have tried to pretend we were closer to the goal by counting mobile homes, which do not particularly strengthen family life.

We never did translate these goals into reality and now we are not even trying. For example, the administration's impoundment policy, we were told, would last for 18 months. We are now told it will be extended for another 18 months in the housing field.

Even to try something innovative for the elderly poor is going to cost more than what anybody is willing to spend.

In the meantime, families live in crowded and inadequate houses, and children roam the streets in dilapidated neighborhoods. Our housing and urban development programs are a disgrace.

Let me close with thanks to Senator Mondale, Senator Stafford, and the other members of the committee. The attention you are calling to the policies on family life is sorely needed. Our Nation depends on strong families and we look forward to the day when this fact is more readily recognized as a matter of Federal policy and when these policies are looked at with family life in mind.

Senator **Mondale**. Thank you for your excellent statement.

Senator Stafford?

Senator **Stafford**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I join with you in appreciating the testimony that both of the witnesses before the subcommittee have given to us. I have very few questions.

Monsignor Corcoran, I notice at one point you refer to the Federal Government as an employer of last resort. I presume you mean that where necessary that jobs even of the Work Progress Administration of yesteryear would be better than no jobs at all. Am I correct in that assumption?

Father **Corcoran**. Yes, sir. In other words, we are not saying that the Government should be the first employer, but there should be work programs of meaningful work to give this assurance and security.

Senator **Stafford**. Other witnesses have testified about the importance of jobs to a feeling of security in the American male and female and this would be consistent with what they have told us in the subcommittee.

I notice also you commented on some of the unfavorable impacts of the present welfare system on the stability of family life in the United States. That really isn't anything new, I don't think. It seems to me there have been some unfavorable impacts of our welfare system over a great many years, not just in the last year. Am I correct in that?

Father **Corcoran**. Yes, sir. I will make a further comment there. That is, the welfare system we have was never conceived to meet the problems we have today. It was conceived in a depression era to try to overcome what was considered to be a temporary situation, and we have not revised it to be realistic to our present-day situation.

Senator **Mondale**. Unfortunately, we are running behind. However, I do have one question.

Yesterday one of our witnesses said it was ironic that we have so many institutionalized children, and children who are rarely noticed by their biological parents. At the same time, there are so many families who would like to adopt children. I think he was suggesting that we ought to have a liberalized approach to adoption and separation from the biological parents. I assume that raises tough questions about the claim of the natural parents to the child. How do you view that tough issue?

Father **Corcoran**. I think the first question, concerning the involuntary separation of children from their natural, biological parents, is one that refers to a practice which takes place now in certain instances. It has to be surrounded by tremendous safeguards, and it is only done through court action. I suppose there is another question, now, with additional present-day knowledge, let us say, of what might be called emotional separation, implicit separation, or what have you, in addition to actual physical separation. Some will say that maybe a case can be made that these children should be separated.

I do not think this is an answer to the overall point that you make concerning the people desiring to adopt children. There are many children who are already separated from their parents and available for adoption. These are usually minority children, handicapped children, and so forth, but most of the people who are seeking adoption are seeking the traditionally desired young infant—fair-haired, blue-eyed, beautiful baby. The child we are talking about who, ultimately through court action would be separated from parents who have paid no attention to him, is going to be an older child. He is going to be a child with problems. He is going to be one that will not adjust very easily, and still it will be very difficult to find an adoptive home for him.

Right now, we are in the process of trying to work out a more extensive program for the adoption of children from Vietnam. These problems I cite are very much inherent in this situation.

I think there are really two problems there: One, the child and the parent and, the other, those seeking to adopt. I do not think there will be much of a solution of the first through the second.

Father McHugh. Another thing that has to be considered is the rights of children. Again, this is an area of our law that is greatly ineffective and in need of reexamination. We treat children as possessions of their parents. Children are often isolated in an institution when they would profit more from some type of foster care. However, they are there because the law cannot finalize the parents' separation if that must be, and provide them the freedom of being placed in another home.

In addition to the problems that exist in the absence of a national family policy, we also have a legal structure that is dangerous in terms of what it does to children, because it treats a child as less than a person. It treats the child as purely a possession of the parents when the parents are legally incompetent of taking care of their possessions, including the children.

There was a recent case in Illinois of a child of an unwed mother. The adoption process was held up until the father could be consulted, and it was almost impossible to identify, much less consult, the actual father of the child.

Senator Mondale. This is a problem that has come up in our child abuse hearings. When does the child have some rights in the process?

[The prepared statement of Monsignor Corcoran follows:]

FEDERAL POLICY AND AMERICAN FAMILIES

Testimony to

Subcommittee on Children and Youth
Committee on Labor and Public Welfare
United States Senate

September 26, 1973

Hearings on

American Families: Trends and Pressures

Presented by

Rev. Msgr. Lawrence J. Corcoran
Executive Director
National Conference of Catholic Charities

Senators:

I am Monsignor Lawrence J. Corcoran, Executive Director of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, which serves some 1500 member agencies and institutions throughout the United States.

With a combined local community budget of near $3/4 billion dollars a year, the Catholic Charities network serves millions of families in the United States. Catholic Charities represents the largest non-governmental program in the field of social welfare. Since the Conference was founded in 1910, it has been committed to providing services and supporting public policy which would strengthen the fabric of family life in our country. It is our view that the general welfare of the nation depends in large measure on the welfare and strength of its families.

While we are concerned for the welfare of all families, we have a special concern for low income families. The proceedings of our first national meeting in 1910 indicate that the National Conference of Catholic Charities "aims to become ... the attorney for the poor in modern society, to present their point of view and defend them unto the days when social justice may secure to them their rights."

So we are especially pleased that this distinguished Senate Subcommittee has called these hearings to explore the impact of governmental policy and program on families and children.

We understand that these hearings are preliminary and searching in nature. The influence of governmental policy on family life is so broad and deep, and the governmental responsibility so important that the interrelationship between governmental policy and family life needs constant and searching examination if our nation's families are to be strengthened and to remain strong and vital.

Our comments below reflect what our agencies around the nation report to us, and the experience we have gained in the struggle to form and maintain sound national policy to protect and nurture family life. Recently, for example we have been discouraged by the constant efforts on the part of the present Administration to cut social service and public assistance costs, both efforts which will weaken family life in this country. We believe most strongly that the first focus or objective of national social welfare policy should be on strengthening family life. The focus which has developed recently on the part of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare seems, on the other hand, to be first to return people to work, any kind of work, at any kind of wage, and to cut social welfare costs. That policy is destructive policy.

With this general introduction, may I now comment on some of the specific problem areas the Committee has enumerated.

Work

Income and financial security for the future are essential for the maintenance of strong family life. This almost seems a platitude, it is so self-evident, but often government policy does not square with the obvious nature of the statement. Just recently, for example, the President vetoed, and the House of Representatives could not override, what we consider to be a very modest increase in the minimum wage, and a badly needed extension of its coverage. If our national policy really put strong families first on its agenda, one could hardly call a minimum wage of $2.20 per hour inflationary. The annual wage that minimum would produce barely reaches the poverty level.

Unemployment, under-employment and inadequate and unsatisfying work or work conditions develop tensions in families which frequently result in the disintegration of families, force mothers of small children to work, separate children from their fathers or their parents. We see the results of unemployment, inadequate wages and unsatisfying work daily in our agencies around the country. So a strong and expanding economy, designed for maximum employment opportunity, with reasonable family-supporting levels of minimum wage for all employees must become a consistent governmental policy. The kind of economic policy we have seen in the past several years, with rampant inflation, rapidly rising prices, high unemployment and almost unprecedented corporate profits, has been placing very real strains on millions of poor and modest income families.

Secondly, since a sense of security is needed to sustain family life, we would urge, as we have urged before Congress in the past, that the government make a firm and enduring commitment to being the employer of last resort, so that despite occasional economic dislocations or fluctuations in our economy, those who are able to work will find meaningful jobs available to them.

In this connection we are not impressed by the relatively unconstructive "make-work" programs which have been devised to reduce the public assistance rolls in states such as California. Work must be meaningful, must be adequately compensated to provide family support, and must provide the opportunity for human satisfaction and advancement.

In addition to the provision of work opportunities by government, if necessary, we see it as entirely appropriate for the government to help those in need secure the education which would enable them to improve their skills and advance in the labor market. Recently, for example, a situation in California came to our attention, where in order to continue receiving public assistance for herself and her children, a woman was ordered to go to work, rather than complete her college education which would have enabled her to become a certified teacher.

In a related matter we would urge more adequate income carry-over programs such as unemployment compensation and the liberalization of unemployment compensation benefits to strikers engaged in legitimate labor disputes centering around economic and non-economic benefits for the workers and their families.

Several other points related to the matter of work:

° We urgently need better urban mass transportation systems. Middle class people in suburbs have benefitted from one of the largest governmental welfare programs -- the development of highway systems to let them come downtown to work at white collar jobs. At the same time, countless companies have moved from the central cities into suburban areas. With grossly inadequate public mass transportation systems, poorer people, frequently members of minority groups, living in central city areas, find it difficult to get to where the new jobs are. At the same time, what public transportation there is frequently is under-utilized, transportation systems lose money, and fares become much too high. Clearly, mass transportation is necessary for the public welfare. Daily experience in city after city points more and more to the necessity of a system of integrated public transportation in our urban areas as a normal function of government supported entirely by tax money. Transportation affects the ability to work, and consequently affects family life.

° But even more important than better public transportation is the need to develop a neighborhood economic development strategy. We need neighborhood economic development programs to place job opportunities near people, as well as to encourage the maintenance of strong neighborhoods. Large areas of many of our cities contain no job opportunities at all, especially for younger people. Secondly, the almost total dislocation of jobs from neighborhoods in urban areas results in young people having to go without work models, since they have no opportunity to observe those close to them in work situations.

° We were happy to see the Senate begin to deal forthrightly with the matter of earned retirement income -- the pension. Vesting rights, insurance and portability are important to the security of American families, and we hope the legislation clears Congress and is signed by the President and is improved in subsequent years.

° Increased attention must be paid to the important role government must play in providing training for second careers. We have in mind not only workers whose jobs become obsolete in our economy, but also the growing number of women whose families are grown, who have many productive years before them, but who have no career or work skills when they could once again enter the labor market.

° Finally we need on-going planning, government programs and forceful governmental action to deal with severe economic dislocation. We do not feel, for example, that governmental responsibility was adequately exercised several years ago when the NASA budget was trimmed (something we favor) and countless engineers glutted the market. We saw the effect of that dislocation on family life. And it is certainly clear to all who believe that our country can care for its defense with a more modest Defense Department budget that we need the kind of programs which will efficiently transfer military or military-related employment and production to the private sector. We need, especially, the kind of attention in Congress which will see to it that the government develops the economic programs which will reduce the dependence of many of our congressional districts on military or military-related employment. How else can we develop and maintain a vital and enduring peace-time economy?

The agencies affiliated with the National Conference of Catholic Charities are constantly forced to deal with the wreckage in families of inadequate government economic policy and inadequate programs guaranteeing productive and satisfying work for our citizens.

Institutionalization and Foster Care

The experience of our agencies leaves little doubt that the lack of certain supports for families in stress, and unnecessary institutionalization of children and parents, place severe strains on family life and often result in the break-up of families. We would make the following observations on needed social service and other governmental programs to relieve the stress and strengthen families.

High mobility in our society, and the vanishing of the extended family, leaves countless married couples with little immediate personal support in times of need or stress. Thus the adequate provision of homemaker services is essential if children are to be maintained in the home during illness or other emergencies.

Likewise we need to extend day care as a supplement to strengthen family life by providing for children while parents are working, and also as an important assist to single parent families. Even single parent families with the parent at home need the relief and leisure which can sometimes only be provided by day care. At the same time, day care programs should not be a method by which we subsidize under-employment or low wages paid by the private sector of the economy.

These helps -- day care, homemakers -- are essential public programs in our country, since our modern economy no longer encourages the extended family system which had these built-in supports. To avoid unnecessary institutional care, we need more adequate financial resources for day care and homemaker services. We also need high national standards in the day care and homemaker services.

Let me observe that the move of profit-making companies into the day care field gives us concern; the government must insure that this does not deflate standards which was the case in the nursing home field. This movement also makes us uneasy in terms of the possibility of profit-making concerns forcing non-profit services out of the field, or absorbing them, ultimately leading to increased costs for day care.

Frankly, we have some serious question as to whether the profit sector of our economy should be permitted at all in the fields of providing direct human care services, such as health care, nursing care, day care. These services are not subject to much consumer choice; they are necessary services in providing for the general welfare. It seems contrary to the humanitarian spirit that should motivate our solicitude for our fellow citizens that profit or excessive income should be derived from the provision of those personal services which are basic to a decent human existence.

One of the greatest strains on families in our country is that imposed by illness or the breakdown in the health of family members. The inadequacy of our medical delivery system and the private health insurance emphasis on crisis care rather than preventive medicine result in needless institutionalization of parents and of children.

This nation urgently needs a universal health insurance system, under the Social Security system, and a greater re-orientation of delivery to see that the health needs of the poor are adequately met, and to insure that the emphasis is on preventive care, rather than on the high costs resulting from major illness when preventive care is not available. The legislation on health maintenance organizations, which has been moving through Congress, is badly needed, on a much larger scale than presently proposed. It is disturbing to us that the present Administration has backed off considerably from its previous strong stance for change in the delivery system through HMO's.

Let me cite but one instance of a serious local problem resulting from an inadequate delivery system, inadequate funding for HMO's, and the lack of an overall health strategy and health insurance system for all American citizens. Bexar County, Texas (largely San Antonio), has approximately 240,000 medically indigent citizens. State law in Texas prohibits doctors from working on a contract basis with any but public hospitals or health services, and as a result, the clinics in San Antonio operate on a limited, part-time, basis, and on the time of doctors who volunteer. Many citizens, particularly many Mexican-Americans, have no access to regular health care, especially preventive care.

Several years ago that community suffered a disastrous and prolonged diphtheria epidemic. The epidemic raged some seven months before local public health officials called the Communicable Disease Center in Atlanta for some assistance. There were inadequate public health services for immunization, and, in the meantime, immunization shots which might have been available at a public cost of some 17¢ per citizen were being given by private physicians at from $10 to $15 each.

Since that time two groups in San Antonio have attempted to form Health Maintenance Organizations. Citizens associated with the Commission for Mexican American Affairs applied for a non-profit charter and were denied it by the State Board of Medical Examiners and by the Secretary of State, apparently because the Board of Directors for their HMO was not completely made up of physicians. They have since sued on constitutional grounds and their case is before the Federal District Court. On the other hand the Bexar County Medical Foundation (completely controlled by the leadership of the local medical society) applied for and secured a grant to begin organizing an HMO, and is presently in its second year of federal funding. However, the Medical Foundation has stated its HMO would not treat indigent patients.

Something surely is wrong with federal policy if such a situation obtains in San Antonio, as well as in other communities in our country. The National Conference of Catholic Charities feels that present health care policy in the United States is skewed toward the affluent and toward high costs. We favor federal policy which will reorient the delivery system so as to meet the preventive health care needs of the poor, and a universal federal health insurance system. Both elements of policy are needed; health insurance alone without preventive care delivery will only keep costs moving upward. We do believe that sound federal policy and programs in the health care field will reduce institutionalization of parents and children.

One final observation on institutionalization: Sometimes placement of children is needed, but we find that there is a lack of resources to apply in situations especially involving retarded or other difficult to place children. We need more help here from the federal government.

Mobility

Mobility quite obviously poses great strains for individual and family life, whether that mobility is a result of governmental employment programs (military transfers), economic dislocation, or the private search for more satisfying and better jobs. I believe the Defense and State Departments do recognize their responsibility as employers, but I do not have the experience to speak to the adequacy of their programs. Rather I would speak to mobility in the private sector, and present some ideas as to how we might deal with the problems arising there.

First of all, much mobility is involuntary, and results from the lack of strong local economies, or the impact in local communities of the decisions reached by remote corporate managers. I would again reiterate the need for a strong neighborhood economic development strategy, to build and maintain enduring job markets locally.

Secondly, it seems to me that we must begin to insist that responsibility for economic dislocation be shared by corporate employers and the government; the burden cannot fairly continue to be placed on the individual family with modest assistance from unemployment insurance. It is not sufficient for necessary moving costs involved in taking a job to be tax deductible. The business community has found it advantageous to meet the economic costs of moving when it transfers executives -- paying moving costs, often insuring against loss in the sale or purchase of adequate housing. The same benefits should be provided by perhaps a combination of the private and public sector for the average worker who finds himself without a job because a plant shuts down, or a company relocates, or almost a whole industry relocates, as was the case with the textile industry. Something similar should be done also for the wage earner who cannot find employment locally, when there are open job markets in other parts of the country. I do not, however, mean we should support involuntary mobility. Eligibility for public assistance should not have moving to an area of job surplus as a requirement. But the costs of moving should be met for a worker who voluntarily relocates.

Welfare

In August, 1970, I testified before the Senate Finance Committee on the proposed Family Assistance Act. I said then, as I say now, that "it is not necessary to dwell on the need for welfare reform, which is acknowledged by almost everyone -- the general public, the welfare recipient, welfare administrators and workers, and indeed by the Congress of the United States."

While there have been some improvements -- notably the transference to the federal government of assistance to the elderly, blind and disabled (even though the payment levels are inadequate) -- the situation of families and children in the welfare system has deteriorated since that time. I noted at the opening of this testimony that despite its proclamations about getting public assistance to the people who need it the most, the present Administration seems to have spending cuts, return to work, and a weakening of federal standards as its prime goals in the field of welfare.

Let me state firmly the belief of the National Conference of Catholic Charities that the prime goal of our welfare system must be to protect, nurture and strengthen family life by the guarantee of adequate income, and the provision of supportive services. And the prime purpose of providing social services must not be to get people off of public income maintenance into meaningful employment, desirable as this is, but, again, to strengthen family life.

We are discouraged at what we observe to be a steady effort on the part of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to dismantle the federal protections which had been built into the financial assistance program, by offering the States great leeway in determining and handling the eligibility process. We fear a massive effort to sharply cut the number of people receiving public assistance -- to cut off from assistance millions of families who are or have been eligible, and who desperately need income security. We continue to be concerned by what we called in 1970 "the pernicious condition which presents some parents with the terrible choice of remaining with their family and not receiving public assistance or deserting their spouse and children so that the family can receive the financial assistance it needs to exist."

We are also very disturbed by efforts in Congress and in HEW to substantially weaken the programs of social service available to our citizens, and to tie social services directly to a "return to work" objective. The most recent regulations on social services proposed by the Social and Rehabilitation

Service of HEW are grossly inadequate, as are the regulations recently finalized on eligibility for financial assistance. Both will be destructive of family life in our country and hit especially sharply at the family life of poor people whose marriages are already under great strain.

Just as the federal government has assumed responsibility for minimum guaranteed assistance to the elderly, the blind and the disabled, we believe that the Congress must devise a program for the federal government to assume responsibility for income maintenance for families in need. We need a public assistance program which will not weaken family life by making the parent dependent on income focused on children, and will not require the father to be absent. We need federal administration of the program, federal eligibility standards, federal minimum payment levels, and federal administration of the program.

I would like to make one final observation on the need for the federal government to assume responsibility for an adequate income maintenance program. We note with interest the tentative proposal of the Administration to provide a cash allowance to those whose incomes are inadequate to purchase or rent housing in the private housing market. We do not believe it would be wise governmental policy to chop necessary income maintenance programs into bits and pieces and distribute them in various areas of need in this manner. Rather, except for health insurance, they should be consolidated into one overall income maintenance strategy. We would also like to place on record our fear that separate administration of a cash allowance program in the field of housing would result in inflated rents in those cities with low vacancy rates. We believe that income subsidies, as essential as they are, cannot be a substitute for other federal programs designed to stimulate and enlarge the housing supply in our country.

In addition to an adequate federal income maintenance program for families, we need a system of social services which are not part of or dependent on financial assistance, and which are organizationally and administratively separated from the financial assistance function of government.

And in the social service field we need the maintenance of a public-private partnership. The collaboration of the governmental and voluntary, non-profit sectors in the provision of social services has been beneficial to those served and also in the efforts to establish a strong and helpful social service system in this country. Such collaboration manifests in practice the democratic principles which we all espouse.

We also need the maintenance of strong and vital multi-purpose legal service programs. The advances made in recent years to extend needed legal services to the poor must be strengthened. Legal service lawyers should not be restricted in their activities any more than lawyers are who serve the more affluent; legal service back-up centers must be maintained and strengthened; and the whole legal service program needs more adequate funding. The provision of such a program is an important complement to the services necessary to strengthen family life in the United States.

Tax System

In our view the present tax system, federal, state and local combined, contains some serious inequities, and disincentives for family life.

On the federal level, present deductibles for family members are insufficiently large to encourage family stability and development. The need for more adequate deductibles, realistically reflecting some of the basic costs involved in rearing and educating a family, are especially important now that there is evidence that the population growth rate in the United States has stabilized.

Some other deductibles -- notably the deductibility of interest payments in the purchase of housing -- discriminate in favor of the more affluent and those who own property, while quite clearly discriminating against renters and the bulk of the poor families of the country.

Thirdly, the health needs of our nation's families, particularly the marginally poor and modest income families whose health needs so often go unmet because of lack of financial resources, suggest the need for the complete deductibility of medical and dental expenses until such time as we develop a universal health insurance system.

Also on the federal level, in order to relate deductibility more closely to the concept of an income maintenance program, consideration might be given to relating deductible amounts to income levels: the lower a family's income, the higher the deductible per family member.

Finally on the federal level, it is quite clear that the present social security tax system places an inequitable burden on poorer wage earners and families.

There are some tax disincentives on the local level which might properly be the subject of federal attention also. We have in mind particularly the present nature of our property tax system, as it is especially burdensome on some groups in our population, as it subsidizes the profits of slumlords in our cities, and especially as its administration results in the inequitable distribution of tax resources in the field of education. I understand that education is properly a function of the states. There are a number of cases in the Federal Courts challenging the present administration of the property taxes on the state level. The evidence is so overwhelming that the educational needs of poorer families, and often of minorities, have for generations been sacrificed in favor of the affluent, that all federal assistance in the field of education ought be designed to make up for this inequity until state tax systems result in an even distribution of state resources to meet educational needs.

Secondly, on the state level, the continuance of high rates of sales tax, particularly on food and other essentials for family life, discriminate by placing a far heavier relative burden on poor and moderate income families than on the affluent. Federal tax policy ought be devised to correct this skew, and to discourage the continuance of the sales tax. While revenue sharing has in some instances enabled states to consider correcting the system, revenue sharing, along with reductions in the categorical programs, as conceived by the present Administration, is not the answer.

All in all, we do believe that attention to the above problems and closing some of the glaring loopholes in our present tax law is properly part of a federal effort to protect and nurture strong family life in our country.

Housing, Zoning and Urban Development

No one believes that housing legislation in the United States has been adequate. But the evident housing programs of the current Administration have disastrous implications for the family life of the poor as well as for the middle income family. The Administration declares moratoriums and impounds with impunity and our shortage of housing grows shorter still. At the same time, the Administration's overall economic policy encourages the rise of interest rates to levels unprecedented in the nation's history, forcing countless families into a new form of bondage, sharply increasing the cost of housing, and making homeownership a goal beyond the reach of additional millions of our citizens. Obviously Congress must assert its will over the Administration's reckless program, and then, while current programs continue, do its own evaluation of the impact of federal housing programs of the past 25 years in order to devise a better program which will increase our housing supply and substantially improve rural and urban living for our nation's families.

The Administration has one proposal which interests us, and that is to seek a formula which would space a family's housing costs out more evenly over its lifetime income expectancy. At the present time the average family's income peaks far after its need for housing space peaks, and this is certainly a disincentive to strong family life.

Federal attention should be increasingly given to the obvious ways in which zoning is being used on the local level to maintain and even increase economic segregation in our urban areas. As jobs expand to suburban areas, restrictive zoning policies result in the inability of poorer families to become more affluent since they are unable to locate their homes near job growth. And as I mentioned earlier in my testimony, more adequate urban mass transportation systems are needed. Also needed is a vigorous neighborhood economic development strategy to help rebuild inner city areas and to help maintain strong neighborhood life in our cities.

One other aspect of urban development bothers us very much. Not long ago Art Buchwald wrote a column which with grim humor portrayed a coming pattern of resegregation in our cities. Because of income disparity, booming inner city land costs, and the inadequacy of government aids to housing rehabilitation, inner cities had become white, surrounded by black suburban rings. The results of the present non-policy are evident even not far from this Capitol building.

It strikes us that there are at least two problems which must be given attention in the development of federal policy which would strengthen the fabric of our cities and thereby strengthen family life. First of all, ways must be found to give the poorer and moderate income family the money to rehabilitate urban housing. Secondly, something must be done to halt the grossly inflated value of urban land to insure that in our rapidly urbanizing nation all of the nation's families will be able to have access to housing in our cities in the future. Leaving land costs to the present patterns of speculation, to the supply and demand force created by those who have money to invest simply squeezes the poorer families of our nation out of present and future opportunity. We could cite from the experience of our agencies around the country family after family who has had to move repeatedly because of urban renewal or private rehabilitation, and the absence of any way for the poorer family to get a stake in the rehabilitation of our neighborhoods.

Any reappraisal of the government's role in housing and urban rehabilitation must rest on the expression in the Housing Acts of 1949 and 1968 that our goal must be a decent home in a decent neighborhood for every family in our nation. We need to spell out again and provide the resources to meet concrete numerical targets such as were detailed in the 1968 Act.

Let me close my testimony with thanks to you, Senator Mondale, and to your distinguished confreres on the Senate Subcommittee on Children and Youth. The attention you are calling to the effect of governmental policies and programs on family life is sorely needed. Our nation depends on strong and vital families and we look forward to the day when this fact is more clearly recognized as a matter of federal policy and when all federal policy initiatives are evaluated with their impact on family life in mind.

Thank you.

Senator MONDALE. We now have a vote, and we will recess shortly and be back in 5 minutes.

[Brief recess.]

Senator MONDALE. The committee will be in order.

The next witnesses will be the Reverend William Genné, coordinator of family ministries, National Council of Churches, accompanied by Dr. Leon Smith, director, Marriage and Family Life of the United Methodist Church in Nashville, Tenn.; and Rev. Chris Hobgood, the pastor of the First Christian Church in Alexandria, Va.

STATEMENTS OF REV. WILLIAM GENNÉ, COORDINATOR OF FAMILY MINISTRIES, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, ACCOMPANIED BY DR. LEON SMITH, DIRECTOR, MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE OF THE UNITED METHODIST CHURCH, NASHVILLE, TENN.; AND REV. CHRIS HOBGOOD, PASTOR, FIRST CHRISTIAN CHURCH, ALEXANDRIA, VA.

Senator MONDALE. Gentlemen, we appreciate having you here today.

Reverend GENNÉ. Mr. Chairman and members of the Senate Subcommittee on Children and Youth, my name is William Genné. I am a staff member of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, serving the council's division of education and ministry as coordinator of ministries with families.

The National Council of Churches is the agency through which 32 Christian churches of the Protestant and Orthodox traditions seek to cooperate in their various ministries. Since its organization in 1950, the council has tried to carry forward the concerns of its predecessor organizations for the strengthening and enrichment of family life, not only in this country but also around the world, through our overseas units. The former Federal Council of Churches created its Commission on Marriage and the Home in 1932; and ever since, there has been an identifiable structure at this level to represent this concern.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE FAMILY

During these more than 40 years of helping families help themsleves, we have learned much from the families we have sought to serve. Strong, healthy family life does not happen automatically any more than we "fall into love." Just as love must be nurtured and helped to grow, family life must be nurtured by arduous effort. A growing love and a growing family life are both full of growing pains.

In 1966, the National Council of Churches joined with the Synagogue Council of America and the United States Catholic Conference in adopting "A Joint Statement on Marriage and Family Life in the United States." The complete statement is attached to our document. This statement reads in part:

"To help families develop foundations for personally meaningful and socially responsible behavior, we offer the following affirmations on which our historic faiths unite.

"We believe and unite in affirming, that God * * * did create us male and female and did establish families as part of His divine plan * * *.

"We believe and unite in affirming that our sexuality is a wondrous gift from God to be accepted with thanksgiving and used within marriage with reverence and joy.

"We believe and unite in affirming that our understanding of God's plan for marriage ideally calls for lifelong commitment in fidelity to a continuing, supportive relationship in which each partner helps the other to develop to fullest capacity * * * .

"We believe and unite in affirming that children are a trust from God and that parenthood is a joyous, though strenuous, adventure in partnership with God, for the procreation and nuturing of each child * * * .

"We believe and unite in affirming that family life is the cradle of personality and character for each child, and creates an environment for the societal values of each succeeding generation as well as the principal source of meaningful personal relations for each adult member of our society * * *.

"We believe that the family is the cornerstone of our society. It shapes the attitudes, the hopes, the ambitions, the values of every citizen * * *.

"Therefore, we, the major religious groups in the United States join forces in exploring all ways and means available to preserve and strengthen family life in America to the end that each person may enjoy fulfillment in dignity, justice, and peace."

THE FAMILY AND THE TOTAL ENVIRONMENT

It is within this context, then, Mr. Chairman, that I say that the families of America and the world need a total environment, both internal and external, if these families are to realize their fullest potential and render their greatest service to humanity.

Because we believe that every aspect of life has moral significance, the National Council has had to be concerned with every aspect of life as it either enhances or destroys the quality of human life.

Therefore, the National Council of Churches has developed many policy statements and programs to strengthen and enrich family life. It has frequently supported the objectives of proposed legislation and government programs which would help improve the total social and cultural environment in which families must live.

We cannot, in the time available to us, enumerate all the concerns of our common life that would have an impact on family life. Every effort to build international, economic, or racial justice, which is the foundation of peace, would, of course, have a beneficial impact on all of the families of this world. The elimination of racial and sexual discrimination, the achievement of a more just distribution of income, the conversion of our multibillion-dollar swords into plowshares—these and others are examples of areas over which Congress can, if it will, exert some control, to the tangible benefit of all families.

Let me speak, however, to a few concerns which relate more specifically and directly to families—and to the institution of marriage which confers legal status on families in our culture—to which this committee might direct its attention:

Since the States reserve to themselves the right to determine the laws governing marriage and the dissolution thereof, there is a hodge-podge of 51 jurisdictions—including the District of Columbia—with differing legislation on this matter. Not all States report their statistics on to the Federal bureaus concerned with such matters. This lack of complete statistics is a real handicap to researchers and family-helping specialists.

In 1963, the National Council urged the Senate to ratify the convention proposed by the United Nations favoring free consent to marriage, a minimum age for marriage, and the registration of all marriages. To date, the Senate has not taken action on this matter because, we understand, it has not been officially submitted by the State Department.

Such confusion and inaction tend to indicate to young people that marriage is not a serious concern of legislators. Any young person knows that it is easier to get a marriage license than it is to get a driver's license for an automobile. If our governments, at all levels, persist in such a casual attitude toward marriage, we should not be surprised at ever-increasing marital discord and failure.

In 1968, the same three organizations mentioned before addressed themselves specifically to sex education as part of the training for adult life and responsibility. While recognizing the primary responsibility of the home and the distinctive responsibility of the churches in education for an understanding of human sexuality, this statement recognized the responsibility of the schools and other community agencies in this important task.

Since the three major faith groups are united in this concern, we would urge the agencies of government that have to do with education at all levels, to develop more adequate programs for education in adulthood and family life. The time for a conspiracy of silence and neglect is long past.

Education is, of course, an aspect of child development, and we strongly urge the attention of the committee be directed toward adequate care and education in early childhood, especially in those instances where both parents are working outside the home.

Health care and services: There is a basic need for adequate health care in our country. In addition to the hospitals and health care services provided by our member churches in this country and overseas, the National Council of Churches has repeatedly (1960, 1967, 1971) spoken out for a better delivery system and a more adequate provision of health care services in this country.

Senator MONDALE. May I suggest that you indicate each area of concern? I think we are familiar with those suggestions.

Reverend GENNÉ. Thank you, Senator. We are concerned about economic supports and have endorsed the desirability of a guaranteed income. We think the dangerous persons in society are those with no stake in it.

We express our dissatisfaction with housing and express our interest in the fact that the recently developed plan of urban home dwellers is something that might be explored.

We urge that the reports of the Presidential Commissions on Population Growth, the American Youth, and on Obscenity be studied. But we believe there are many things in that that deserve to be cared for.

Then we do want to thank you for your committee's concern in this matter and pledge our support as legislation is provided.

Senator MONDALE. I understand that you once worked with John Maxwell Adams?

Reverend GENNÉ. Yes, sir. I did. He was somewhat of a father to me when I was a student right out of the seminary.

Senator MONDALE. He makes a pretty good father-in-law, too.

Thank you for your excellent presentation. Your statement will be included in the record.

[The prepared statement of Reverend Genné, with attachment follows:]

STATEMENT TO THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH ON BEHALF OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE USA, BY THE REV. WILLIAM H. GENNÉ, SEPTEMBER 26, 1973

Mr. Chairman and members of the Senate Subcommittee on Children and Youth, my name is William Genne'. I am a staff member of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., serving the Council's Division of Education and Ministry as Coordinator of Ministries with Families.

The National Council of Churches is the agency through which thirty-two Christian Churches of the Protestant and Orthodox traditions seek to cooperate in their various ministries. Since its organization in 1950, the Council has tried to carry forward the concerns of its predecessor organizations for the strengthening and enrichment of family life, not only in this country but around the world as well through our overseas units. The former Federal Council of Churches created its Commission on Marriage and the Home in 1932; and ever since there has been an identifiable structure at this level to represent this concern.

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We believe and unite in affirming that our understanding of God's plan for marriage ideally calls for lifelong commitment in fidelity to a continuing, supportive relationship in which each partner helps the other to develop to fullest capacity....

We believe and unite in affirming that children are a trust from God and that parenthood is a joyous, though strenuous, adventure in partnership with God for the procreation and nurturing of each child....

We believe and unite in affirming that family life is the cradle of personality and character for each child and creates an environment for the societal values of each succeeding generation as well as the principal source of meaningful personal relations for each adult member of our society....

We believe that the family is the cornerstone of our society. It shapes the attitudes, the hopes, the ambitions, the values of every citizen....

Therefore, we the major religious groups in the U.S., join forces in exploring all ways and means available to preserve and strengthen family life in America to the end that each person may enjoy fulfillment in dignity, justice, and peace.

THE FAMILY AND THE TOTAL ENVIRONMENT

It is within this context, then, Mr. Chairman, that I say that the families of America and the World need a total environment, both internal and external, if these families are to realize their fullest potential and render their greatest service to humanity.

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Therefore, the National Council of Churches has developed many policy statements and programs to strengthen and enrich family life. It has frequently supported the objectives of proposed legislation and government programs which would help improve the total social and cultural environment in which families must live.

These policy statements, developed and adopted by the representatives of our member churches, do not profess to speak for every member of those communions. They do represent the majority judgment of those leaders who, working together through the National Council, have sought to relate the moral insights of their Christian faith to the corporate life of our communities.

We cannot, in the time available to us, enumerate all the concerns of our common life that would have an impact on family life. Every effort to build international, economic or racial justice, which is the foundation of peace, would, of course, have a beneficial impact on all of the families of this world. The elimination of racial and sexual discrimination, the achievement of a more just distribution of income, the conversion of our multi-billion dollar swords into plowshares - these and others are examples of areas over which Congress can, if it wills, exert some control, to the tangible benefit of all families.

Let me speak, however, to a few concerns which relate more specifically and directly to families -- and to the institution of marriage which confers legal status on families in our culture -- to which this committee might direct its attention:

The Conditions of Marriage: Since the states reserve to themselves the right to determine the laws governing marriage and the dissolution thereof, there is a hodge-podge of fifty-one jurisdictions (including D.C.) with differing legislation on this matter. Not all states report their statistics to the federal bureaus concerned with such matters. This lack of complete statistics is a real handicap to researchers and family-helping specialists.

In 1963 the National Council urged the Senate to ratify the convention proposed by the United Nations favoring free consent to marriage, a minimum age for marriage and the registration of all marriages. To date the Senate has not taken action on this matter, because, we understand, it has not been officially submitted by the State Department.

Such confusion and inaction tend to indicate to young people that marriage is not a serious concern of legislators. Any young person knows that it is easier to get a marriage license than it is to get a driver's license for an automobile. If our governments at all levels persist in such a casual attitude toward marriage, we should not be surprised at ever increasing marital discord and failure.

Education for Family Life: In 1968 the same three organizations mentioned before addressed themselves specifically to sex education as part of the training for adult life and responsibilities (cf. The Interfaith Statement on Sex Education, attached). While recognizing the primary responsibility of the home and the distinctive responsibility of the churches in education for an understanding of human sexuality, this statement recognized the responsibility of the schools and other community agencies in this important task.

Since the three major faith groups are united in this concern, we would urge the agencies of government that have to do with education at all levels to develop more adequate programs for adulthood and family life. The time for a conspiracy of silence and neglect is long past.

Education for family living calls for community offerings for every age in the life cycle from pre-natal education to education for retirement and eventual death. Legislation to guide and resources to actualize programs of education for all ages is a necessity in our modern society.

Education is, of course, an aspect of child development and we strongly urge the attention of the committee be directed toward adequate care and education in early childhood, especially in those instances where both parents are working outside the home.

Health Care and Services: There is a basic need for adequate health care in our country. In addition to the hospitals and health care services provided by our member churches in this country and overseas, the National Council of Churches has repeatedly (1960, '67, '71) spoken out for a better delivery system and a more adequate provision of health care services in this country. As recently as 1971 it said:

> The General Board of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. endorses the development of a national health system which will assure quality health care as a right to all persons in an accessible, effective and efficient manner, with a method of funding which makes this possible. It calls upon units of the Council to support the achievement of this goal in appropriate ways.

Adequate health services would include not only medical and dental services but also mental health facilities, including marital and sexual therapies which are so basic to healthy family life. Counseling and services to help families voluntarily determine the number and spacing of their children is a vital component of any family health care system (1961).

Economic Supports: There seems to be a moral dilemma in the most affluent nation in the world having persistent pockets of poverty gnawing at the vitality of the body politic. When we have the resources and are under the moral imperative to share with the less fortunate members of our human family, it seems as though we ought to be able to figure out some way to insure a basic decency of life for all persons. In 1968 the National Council stated:

> . . . the National Council of Churches endorses the concept and desirability of a guaranteed income. Such a program should meet the following criteria:
>
> 1) It should be available as a matter of right, with need as the sole criterion of eligibility.
> 2) It should be adequate to maintain health and human decency.
> 3) It should be administered so as to adjust benefits to changes in cost of living.
> 4) It should be developed in a manner which will respect the freedom of persons to manage their own lives, increase their power to choose their own careers, and enable them to participate in meeting personal and community needs.
> 5) It should be designed to afford incentive to productive activity.
> 6) It should be designed in such a way that existing socially desirable programs and values are conserved and enhanced.
>
> We recognize that the guaranteed income is not a substitute for programs of full employment and human resource development. It is not a panacea for all the socio-economic problems encountered by the family and the individual in the course of a life cycle. At the same time, we are compelled to acknowledge that our socio-economic system works imperfectly. It is, therefore, the responsibility of society to devise new institutions which more adequately fulfill basic human rights.

The most dangerous person to any society is the one who has no stake in it. When we urge the government to insure the basics of health and decency, as well as order and tranquility, we are reminded that these benefits should be available to all, including our native American Indians (1955), migratory and seasonal farm workers (1951, 1966) and all Americans regardless of race, creed or national origin (1966). Only as each person is given visible and tangible interest in our social structures can they be expected to work for those social structures.

Housing: As far back as 1953, the Council expressed its concern about adequate housing as a necessity for healthy families. We realize this is a complicated question involving land, taxation, construction costs and financing as well as the overall design to enhance family living. Blighted cities, "ticky-tacky" suburban developments, and the deterioration of many smaller communities all testify to the need for strenuous efforts by legislative bodies to create better ways of providing adequate shelter for the families of America. The recent practice of encouraging "urban homesteaders" to rehabilitate unused houses in some of our cities seems to offer some hope within the American tradition of individual initiative and self reliance. This and many other proposals regarding land use, property taxation and housing and urban development ought to be a high priority for this committee.

Cultural and Media Environment: In the sub-committee's study of the impact of legislation and governmental policies on families, you would do well to study the reports of the Presidential Commissions on Population Growth and the American Future and on Obscenity and Pornography. This is not to be construed as a blanket enforsement of all the specific recommendations in those two reports but simply as an observation that they do address two important areas that have an impact on every person in our land. Some of us fear that these reports have been rather quickly passed by because of an emotional rejection of one or two of the sensitive items on which they comment. Our only plea is that there should be continuing dialogue on the total reports, until agreement is reached on many areas discussed in those reports as they affect our national life.

These two reports direct attention to two important areas of the total environment that affects every family and person in America. Because of many changes in society, technologically and philosophically, parents are frequently confused about their own values and consequently are unable to share with their children clear bases for moral decision making. Parents and their children have been battered by repeated wars and other upheavals so all of us need the help of all governmental agencies as well as all community organizations, including the churches, in the painstaking job of rediscovering the basic moral values to which we need to recommit ourselves.

CONCLUSION

Many religionists have the feeling that God is at work exposing cynicism and arrogance and reminding us that love, honor, honesty and a willingness to stick by one's vows, especially the marriage vows, are fundamental to a healthy society.

We therefore applaud your committee's concern to stabilize, strengthen and enrich the families of children and youth, and pledge our continued interest and cooperation as specific legislative proposals are developed.

A JOINT STATEMENT ON MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES

by the

National Catholic Welfare Conference
Family Life Bureau
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S
Commission on Marriage and Family
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Synagogue Council of America
Committee on the Family
235 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10016

Approved for release June 8, 1966

A JOINT STATEMENT ON MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES

Keenly aware of the role religion ascribes to the home and family life and keenly aware of the powerful and pervasive social conditions which threaten to undermine human dignity, marriage and family life in America, we, as representatives of the major religions – Catholic, Jewish, Orthodox, and Protestant – wish to bring the religious teachings of our respective faiths to bear upon our society and to join with all men of good will to create a healthier social climate in which family life in America can flourish and be strong.

There are large areas of agreement and numerous possibilities for joint programs and action, although we recognize and respect the differences of approach, emphases and contributions of each major faith.

To help families develop foundations for personally meaningful and socially responsible behavior, we offer the following affirmations on which our historic faiths unite.

We believe, and unite in affirming, that God, the Creator of the Universe and the Father of all mankind, did create us male and female and did establish families as part of his Divine Plan. Because of our understanding of this plan, we believe and unite in affirming that our sexuality is a wondrous gift from God to be accepted with thanksgiving and used within marriage with reverence and joy.

We believe and unite in affirming that our understanding of God's plan for marriage ideally calls for lifelong commitment in fidelity to a continuing, supportive relationship in which each partner helps the other to develop to fullest capacity. We are united in our belief that God is an active partner in sustaining and enriching the husband-wife relationship in marriage.

We believe and unite in affirming that children are a trust from God and that parenthood is a joyous, though strenuous, adventure in partnership with God for the procreation and nurturing of each child. Parenthood calls for the responsible use of all of our God-given talents and abilities in this adventure.

We believe and unite in affirming that family life is the cradle of personality and character for each child and creates an environment for the societal values of each succeeding generation as well as the principal source of meaningful personal relations for each adult member of our society. All children need a father and a mother firmly united in love to guide their growth into manhood or womanhood and to provide the emotional security that fosters development toward mature and responsible relationships between men and women.

We believe that the family is the cornerstone of our society. It shapes the attitudes, the hopes, the ambitions, the values of every citizen. The child is usually damaged when family living collapses. When this happens on a massive scale, the community itself is crippled.

There are no easy answers to all the complex problems facing marriage and family living in the world today, and we are aware that there are many fronts on which we must work. We can never finish the task; neither are we free to ignore it.

Therefore, we the major religious groups in the U. S., join forces in exploring all ways and means available to preserve and strengthen family life in America to the end that each person may enjoy fulfillment in dignity, justice, and peace.

HOW TO USE THIS STATEMENT

The foregoing statement affirms in general outline the basic agreement of the communities of faith regarding the nature of sex, marriage, parenthood, and family life.

It is offered to our constituencies as a suggested basis for beginning conversations in local communities and at every level in our organizations.

Beginning with our shared affirmations, we believe it will be easy to discover common grounds for action in many areas affecting family life in our country today.

The Interfaith Commission, which drafted this statement, invites individuals and organizations to report to it significant interfaith activities on the following topics:

Education of children and youth in sexual understanding and family roles.
Preparation of couples for marriage.
Assistance to parents in child rearing.
Enrichment of husband-wife and parent-child relationships.
Development of community responsibility in families.
Efforts to improve housing, education, and a better environment for all families.
Endeavors to improve laws and community services as they relate to families.

Please address your replies to one of the organizations listed on the front cover.

Those without religious affiliation are invited to use this statement to stimulate their own thought regarding the meanings of sex, marriage, parenthood, and family life in human society.

Senator MONDALE. Dr. Smith?

Dr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to appear before your Senate Subcommittee on Children and Youth to toke part in the hearings on "American Families: Trends and Pressures."

At the outset, it is only fair to point out that even though I am presently director of marriage and family life education for the United Methodist Church, I have not been elected by our more than 10 million members to represent them here today.

I come to you as an individual professional concerned about the well-being of the families of this Nation. Nevertheless, I draw upon my experience in helping to draft official statements of our church concerning families and base my remarks on these documents, two of which are attached and quoted as indicated:

I. "Social Principles of The United Methodist Church" adopted by the 1972 General Conference and II, the "Resolution on the Family" accepted by that general conference and referred to the churches for study.

First, I would like to commend you and your committee for your concern for all the families of this Nation. Then, I would like to make a few specific suggestions and offer a framework of support for your efforts.

1. We agree with your statement "that nothing is more important to a child than a healthy family" and "that often too little consideration is paid to the role of the family in the prevention and solution of children's problems."

Officially our church has stated: "We believe the family to be the basic human community through which persons are nurtured and sustained in mutual love, responsibility, respect, and fidelity.

"We urge social, economic, and religious efforts to maintain and strengthen families in order that every member may be assisted toward complete personhood."

2. Because of the high value we place on families, especially with regard to their influence on the well-being of children and youth, I believe it is time that we took the 1970 White House Conference on Children seriously and reordered our national priorities so as to give first place to meeting the needs of persons, for we recognize "that human values must outweigh military claims as governments determine their priorities."

As a church we have called on our people to "actively work to change our national priorities so that the Government addresses itself more directly to the human needs within our society."

3. One effective way to implement our basic concern for children, youth and families is to establish a National Institute for Families whose chief officer would have Cabinet status.

Purpose of such an institute would be to foster family well being through research, education, and action programs. As I see it, the institute also would have the power to review all governmental policies affecting families and to make recommendations to the proper authorities in all branches of government.

I believe we need a National Institute for Families to do just what this committee is doing in these hearings, but to do it on a continuous comprehensive basis and more in depth than can be done in a few days.

Again, our church has declared that social structures, including government, which affect families "must be under constant scrutiny and judgment to measure their influence on the family."

I would like to refer you to Dr. Marvin Sussman, who has done a feasability study on this and suggest that his report should be added to your committee record.

Senator MONDALE. It will be included in the record.

[The report subsequently furnished may be found in the files of the subcommittee.]

Dr. SMITH. Next is:

4. As a prime concern of the institute—or of this committee—I would urge major programs to strengthen family life and sex education, including preparation for marriage and parenthood—from Headstart through high school and into college and professional education.

In fact, we should have as massive a program for this as we have for medical professionals. Specifically one recommendation our organization made was to recognize that sexuality is a good gift of God, and we believe that persons may be fully human only when that gift is acknowledged and affirmed by themselves, the church, and society.

Since homosexuals no less than heterosexuals are persons of sacred worth—we insist that all persons are entitled to have their human and civil rights insured.

Further, we call for the enactment of civil rights legislation prohibiting discrimination because of sexual orientation in employment, housing or public accommodations.

5. Because of the close relationship between martial interaction and child development, ways must be found to support the continuing enrichment of marriage across the years.

Further, in terms of martial and family crises, counseling services must be made available to all our people. Specifically, our national health insurance program must be written so as to include marriage and family counseling as well as pastoral counseling.

When individuals with personal and family problems seek counseling almost twice as many turn to a minister—42 percent—as to a medical doctor—27 percent. And more than half of them bring marriage and family problems.

When fees are required for professional marriage and family counseling, they should be covered by our national health insurance.

Statements are included in my prepared remarks and will be referred to only in passing at this time.

Regarding housing, we need to be aware of a National Institute of Mental Health Study that indicated the physical arrangement of houses is vital to mental health. Houses can be designed so that mothers working in their homes can see their children at play. Such designs need to be included in future housing developments so that we don't put people in boxes in straight rows to encourage isolation rather than community involvement.

We are concerned with migrant workers.

Regarding amnesty, many of our families are divided at the present time because of governmental attitudes on amnesty.

A full statement is attached regarding employment and income and I will not refer to that further under the limitations of time.

Senator **Mondale**. That report will bep laced in the files of the subcommittee.

Dr. **Smith**. Finally, for the offer of a framework of support for your efforts that goes beyond these statements and beyond the church itself, I would like to share with you a dream.

I have a dream of establishing in this Nation a family action network that will be a membership organization of a million persons who are concerned about families and who want to join in action programs to strengthen family life in this Nation.

In local communities all across this land members will form task forces to work on particular problems or issues affecting families where they live. At the national level we will study the structures of society and help leaders become aware of their effect on families—including the mass media, business, education, medicine, religion, and government.

Specifically, one part of the family action network would be a citizen lobby for families. In such an organization, Mr. Chairman, I believe you would find support for your efforts to strengthen the families of the children and youth you are so concerned about. Thank you.

Senator **Mondale**. Thank you, very much.

Dr. **Smith**. I would like to point out that these official statements were voted on by persons elected in a representative manner from the local church right on through annual conferences. Usually when the top leaders from a State get elected to national positions they seem to choose people who are very much concerned about human need.

One of the innovations in our church is that in every congregation now there is a coordinator of family ministries, so that there is a much more grassroots concern for families than previously. This is a required position now and not an optional committee as before.

Senator **Mondale**. I think all of you leaders are correct. I think there is a very vast and deep commitment among congregations for the family approach.

This means something to them. I think it has been our fault not to approach it in that way. Perhaps if we would do that, the programs would get broader support.

Dr. **Smith**. May I suggest a further investigation, too, like that of the National French Union of Family Organizations that does have a combination of citizen support with the national government, so that when, for example, any income tax decisions are made in France, there is someone seated in the decisionmaking group who is specifically concerned about the impact of these decisions on the family.

I think we could learn from the French system.

Senator **Mondale**. Thank you, very much.

[The prepared statement by Dr. Smith follows:]

Prepared Statement of Dr. Leon Smith, Director, Marriage and Family Life Education, United Methodist Church

Mr. **Smith**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to appear before your Senate Subcommittee on Children and Youth to take part in the hearings on "American Families: Trends and Pressures."

At the outset, it is only fair to point out that even though I am presently Director of Marriage and Family Life Education for The United Methodist Church, I have not been elected by our more than 10,000,000 members to represent them here today. I come to you as an individual professional concerned about the well being of the families of this Nation. Nevertheless, I draw upon my experience in helping to draft official statements of our church concerning families and base my remarks on these documents, five of which are attached and quoted as indicated: I. "Social Principles of The United Methodist Church" adopted by the 1972 General Conference and II. the "Resolution on the Family" accepted by that General Conference and referred to the churches for study; also attached are statements on III. "National Income Policy and Social Welfare," IV. "Health Care," V. "Responsible Parenthood," and VI. "Housing."

First, I would like to commend you and your Committee for your concern for all the families of this Nation. Then, I would like to make a few specific suggestions and offer a framework of support for your efforts.

1. We agree with your statement "that nothing is more important to a child than a healthy family" and "that often too little consideration is paid to the role of the family in the prevention and solution of children's problems."

Officially our church has stated: "We believe the family to be the basic human community through which persons are nurtured and sustained in mutual love, responsibility, respect, and fidelity. We urge social, economic, and religious efforts to maintain and strengthen families in order that every member may be assisted toward complete personhood." (I, p. 7.)

2. Because of the high value we place on families, especially with regard to their influence on the well being of children and youth, I believe it is time that we took the 1970 White House Conference on Children seriously and *recorded our national priorities* so as to give first place to meeting the needs of persons, for we recognize "that human values must outweigh military claims as governments determine their priorities." (I, p. 21.)

As a church we have called on our people to "actively work to change our national . . . priorities so that the government addresses itself more directly to the human needs within our society." (II, p. 7.) "A high priority must be given to the rights and needs of children." (II, p. 6.) We believe that "children have the rights to food, shelter, clothing, and health care as do adults, and these rights we affirm as theirs regardless of actions or inactions of their parents or guardians. (I, p. 10.)

3. One effective way to implement our basic concern for children, youth and families is *to establish a National Institute for Families* whose chief officer would have Cabinet status. Purpose of such an Institute would be to foster family well being through research, education, and action programs. As I see it, the Institute also would have the power to review all governmental policies affecting families and to make recommendations to the proper authorities in all branches of government. I believe we need a National Institute for Families to do just what this Committee is doing in these hearings, but to do it on a continuous comprehensive basis and more in depth than can be done in a few days. Again, our church has declared that social structures, including government, which affect families "must be under constant scrutiny and judgment to measure their influence on the family." (II, p. 3.)

4. As a prime concern of the Institute—Of this Committee—I would urge major problems to *strengthen family life and sex education*, including preparation for marriage and parenthood—from headstart through high school and into college and professional education. For example, every high school student should have an opportunity to learn what it means to be married and to be a parent. Massive educational programs are needed to prepare teachers for these tasks.

Again, "the church supports public schools and other agencies in programs of family life and sex education." (II, p. 6) As a Church, "we support the development of school systems and innovative methods of education designed to assist each child toward full humanity. . . . All children have the right to a full sexual education, appropriate to their stage of development, that utilizes the best educational techniques and insights." (I, p. 10.)

These above positions are based on the fact that "we recognize that sexuality is a good gift of God, and we believe that persons may be fully human only when that gift is acknowledged and affirmed by themselves, the church, and society." Since "homosexuals no less than heterosexuals are persons of sacred worth . . . we insist that all persons are entitled to have their human and civil rights insured." (I, p. 7–8.) Further, we call "for the enactment of civil rights legislation prohibiting discrimination because of sexual orientation in employment, housing or public accommodations." (II, p. 8.)

5. Because of the close relationship between marital interaction and child development, ways must be found to support the continuing *enrichment of marriage* across the years. (II, p. 9.) Further, in terms of marital and family crises, *counseling services* must be made available to all our people.

Specifically, our national health insurance program must be written so as to include marriage and family counseling as well as pastoral counseling. When individuals with personal and family problems seek counseling almost twice as many turn to a minister as to a medical doctor. And more than half of them bring marriage and family problems. When fees are required for professional marriage and family counseling, they should be covered by our national health insurance. (I, p. 10, 11, 16; II, p. 7.)

6. Children and families are affected by the *environment* in which they live. This includes housing and community development. "Massive programs of renewal and social planning are needed to bring a greater degree of humanization into urban-suburban life styles." We "must judge all programs, including economic and community development, new towns, and urban renewal by the extent to which they protect and enhance human values, permit personal and political involvement, and make possible neighborhoods open to persons of all races, ages and income levels." (I, p. 13.)

7. We have a special concern for families living in *poverty*. "In order to provide basic needs such as food, clothing, shelter, education, health care and other necessities, ways must be found to more equitably share the wealth of the world. . . . To begin to alleviate poverty, we support such policies as: adequate income maintenance, quality education, decent housing, job training, meaningful employment opportunities, medical and hospital care, and humanization and radical revisions of welfare programs." (I, p. 16.)

Regarding migrant workers, "we call upon governments and all employers to insure for migratory workers the same economic, educational and social benefits enjoyed by other citizens." (I, p. 16.)

8. *Families* are acutely affected by *military service* and the disruption of family life it requires. As a church "we support those individuals who conscientiously oppose all war, or any particular war, and who therefore refuse to serve in the armed forces. We also support those persons who conscientiously choose to serve in the armed forces or to accept alternate service." (I, p. 19.)

At the present time our government's attitude against *amnesty* is dividing families who could be brought back together by change in governmental policy.

9. *Employment and income* are basic to family well being. Thus in the economic realm, "we recognize the responsibility of governments to develop and implement sound fiscal and monetary policies that provide for the economic life of individuals and corporate entities, and that insure full employment and adequate incomes with a minimum of inflation. . . . We believe private and public economic enterprises are responsible for the social costs of doing business, such as unemployment and environmental pollution, and that they should be held accountable for these costs. We support measures that would reduce concentration of wealth in the hands of a few. We further support efforts to revise tax structures and eliminate governmental support programs that now benefit the wealthy at the expense of other persons. . . . We believe governments have the responsibility, in the pursuit of justice and order under law, to provide procedures that protect the rights of the whole society, as well as those of private ownership." (I, p. 14–15.)

10. Finally, for the offer of a framework of support for your efforts that goes beyond these statements and beyond the church itself, I would like to share with you a dream.

I have a dream of establishing in this nation a *Family Action Network* that will be a membership organization of a million persons who are concerned about families and who want to join in action programs to strengthen family life in this nation. In local communities all across this land members will form task forces to work on particular problems or issues affecting families where they live. At the national level we will study the structures of society and help them become aware of their effect on families—including the mass media, business, education, medicine, religion, and government. Specifically, one part of the Family Action Network would be a citizen lobby for families. In such an organization, Mr. Chairman, I believe you would find support for your efforts to strengthen the families of the children and youth you are so concerned about. (II, p. 7–8.) Thank you.

Senator MONDALE. Reverend Hobgood?

STATEMENT OF REVEREND CHRIS HOBGOOD, PASTOR FIRST CHRISTIAN CHURCH, ALEXANDRIA, VA.

Reverend HOBGOOD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the Senate Subcommittee on Children and Youth. My name is Chris Hobgood. I am pastor of the First Christian Church in Alexandria, Va.

At this time I am representing not only myself, but also the Departments of Christian Education and Church in Society of the Division of Homeland Ministries of the Christian Church—Disciples of Christ.

There are a number of things I would like to see, growing out of my experience as a pastor. Consequently, I would like to submit this statement for the record and skip over to page 3, where some of our concerns begin.

Senator MONDALE. We will include the statement in the record at the conclusion of your testimony.

Reverend HOBGOOD. The Christian Church—Disciples of Christ—is a Protestant denomination with approximately 4,500 congregations and 1.3 million members throughout the country.

While this statement is a personal response of myself and members of these two national program units of our church, it does reflect the thinking of a number of persons who are concerned with development of both family and social or community ministries to individuals and families through channels of the Christian Church—Disciples of Christ—at its various levels: Local congregations, regional, and national.

Therefore, this statement suggests the direction of some of the concerns and future programs of the Christian Church—Disciples of Christ.

The Christian Church—Disciples of Christ—strongly affirms the central importance of the family in the molding and supporting of persons. We believe that it is the family which can and should provide the basic sense of personhood and self-worth for children, as well as security and affirmation for youth and adults.

To say that the family can and should serve these functions, however, is not to suggest that it is currently doing so in every instance. We are deeply concerned, in fact, about the failure of a great many families to serve these functions of developing and supporting persons.

While we believe that these families—and more particularly the persons in these families—must themselves bear the responsibility for such failures we maintain that the culture in which we live brings many pressures to bear on these persons and families in such a way as to contribute to said failures.

Some of the pressures of divisiveness are primarily cultural. Many others are directly or indirectly the result of governmental policies.

We do not suggest that the Government can pass laws and establish policies which eliminate family failures. We do believe, however, that the various government under which we live—local, State, Federal—can be cognizant of the effect of laws and policies upon families.

More than simply being aware, however, we believe that government can seek to avoid creating laws and policies which negatively affect the ability of families to serve the functions of development and support of persons.

In addition, we believe that government can at times and in some areas take positive actions to support the healthy functioning of families.

CHILD CARE DEVELOPMENT

As more families face the situation of both parents working outside the home, or as necessitated in growing numbers of one-parent families, we are greatly concerned that satisfactory child care and development facilities be available and accessible.

Such facilities must be humane and complementary to the families' individual life styles. Since life styles and needs vary, facilities must vary in their functions and goals. Rather than neutralize the significance of the family, as some have said is the danger of such facilities, effective child development programs should reinforce the values inherent in the family while enabling the child to develop progressively through effective instruction and activities.

We have had these programs in our church and invariably the family's life improves, both through the education the child receives and through the participation of the family in framing the policies of the center. The child's life is helped in becoming a person, and learning how to learn. These centers are vital both to enable the child to grow and the mother to work if necessary.

Governmental support must be available to private agencies which attempt to provide such services. It may also be that the government itself may at times and in certain places be obligated to provide such services.

We believe that the Child Development Act—S. 2007—was a step in the right direction and very much regret its veto by President Nixon. We hope that similar legislation will, after careful study, be enacted in the very near future.

We see such legislation as not divisive of the family but as supportive of individual persons in their own growth.

Satisfactory child-care facilities can be supportive of the family as they provide extended family relationships while encouraging individual family members to work for their development and effectiveness as parents and family members.

The availability of standard child-care development centers can serve to relieve tensions and frustrations which may exist in their absence. With these goals in mind, therefore, we affirm the need for facilities which are flexible, open to and supportive of parental involvement, and soundly based in principles of developmental psychology.

The second area I would like to talk about is the area of human sexuality. We believe that the Government has a responsibility to be a resource in providing information and services to persons and families for the task of sound education in sexuality.

While we agree that the schools and the churches have a responsibility in sex education, we maintain that it is ultimately the task of the family to provide such education.

I know a lot of parents who throw up their hands because they don't know what to tell their children.

We find the parents are frequently ill-equipped for this task, and it is in providing information and resources for them that the Government may be well equipped.

In addition, we believe that information and counseling in birth control must be available to parents and potential parents. Such a service—which may well include dissemination of birth control devices and abortion counseling and referral—could prevent many unhappy family situations and neglected children. Both of these goals could be implemented by the Congress by adding provisions for these services to future legislation that provides Federal financial assistance for clinics, hospitals, et cetera.

As an advocate the Government must support the right of women to equal opportunity. The passage of the equal rights amendment to the U.S. Constitution is a logical first step in this direction, followed by vigorous enforcement of its provisions.

In this way all persons may have opportunity to find fulfillment for themselves as persons. Even without the equal rights amendment, however, the Government can provide support for women in their struggle for equality of opportunity.

MASS MEDIA

We are particularly concerned about the effect of mass media, and especially television, on families. We regret the general lack of substantive material found in most commercial programing.

We are concerned about stereo-typical pictures of families which give little support to viewing families in their struggle for a meaningful life together.

We deplore the very low quality of so-called children's programing on commercial television, with its major faults of banality and glorification of violence. Even more do we deplore the nature and constancy of advertising which seeks to use children as tools in consumer warfare.

The licensing procedures of the Federal Communications Commission should be reviewed, so that quality programing, and not political harassment, becomes the criterion for licensing.

THE ECONOMY

The effect of the present state of the economy on families is of concern to us. As inflation continues we see more evidence of parents seeking to work more hours apart from their families in order to keep up with prices.

Furthermore, with the vast discrepancies in income level between various families, we are particularly concerned about what these discrepancies say to our children and youth about equality of opportunity.

Children in lower income families, especially if they are also minorities, know very well that equality of opportunity is a hollow phrase when their parents are unable to find work, or can find only low-paying jobs, or must work at two or three jobs in order to provide bare essentials.

We question an economic system that, increasingly, favors the very affluent and where even the middle class, like the poor, are unable to function with much equality.

We regret the recent veto of the minimum wage bill, for it means one working full time for the minimum wage is still unable to support a family of four at above the poverty level.

Housing availability is a crisis area. In my city of Alexandria few young families can afford to own homes.

WELFARE LEGISLATION

Persons and families receiving welfare assistance must have the same opportunities to enjoy a meaningful family life as those who are more fortunate. Particularly does this refer to families receiving aid to dependent children support.

Such legislation must provide for adequate time for the family to be together as well as taking into consideration the need for satisfactory child care facilities at times. Furthermore, present aid to dependent children grant levels tend to keep families in poverty and therefore are a disservice both to the families and to the Nation.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

We are distressed at the growing divorce rate, but do not feel that the answer is to be found in strengthening divorce laws. In fact, we support the growing trend toward the adoption of some form of "no-fault" divorce laws which we believe frequently lessen the tension and hostility involved in many divorce actions.

We are more inclined to believe that the strengthening should come at the other end, that is, in marriage laws. We would urge consideration being given to a reexamination of laws governing marriage which might require more thought being given to the nature of the commitment being made than is presently the case.

The time may well have come when the Federal level needs to take an active role in effective marriage laws. With the mobility of our society the differences between States laws become increasingly counterproductive. Example: Alexandria is something of a marriage haven for Marylanders who avoid their State's 3-day waiting period by crossing the river to Virginia, where there is no wait.

We doubt the wisdom or the constitutionality of the Federal Government's enacting marriage laws, but we do feel it could take the initiative in encouraging the coordination of States laws.

MENTAL HEALTH

The other major point at which response to the growing divorce rate might be made is in the support and strengthening of mental health services. We regret the recent cutback in Federal support to mental health and counseling services.

Such support must be increased, both as a preventive measure and as a reconciling force in marriage and family breakdown. Marriage and family counseling services are greatly needed for families of all economic levels, and the provision of such services must be made a priority.

FAMILY STABILITY

At several points we find governmental policy and legislation working against opportunities for family togetherness and stability. Particularly is this true in regard to the Government as employer or as Government policy affects private employers.

Employment conditions which require frequent and/or long term separation of the employee from his or her family should be avoided whenever possible.

When travel is necessitated, compensation should be provided either for the family to accompany the employee or compensatory time off should be available to the employee.

Opportunities for families to be with employees on the job site should be made available whenever possible. Frequent moves from community to community should be avoided whenever possible to enable the establishment and maintenance of roots in a community.

Persons in prison should be much more accessible to familial visits both in frequency and duration. Many other changes which provide opportunity for family togetherness could also be implemented.

In conclusion we reaffirm our belief in the essential importance of the family in developing and supporting persons. We trust that the Government shares a similar belief and will work to enable the family's functioning effectively.

Perhaps a "family impact statement" accompanying new legislation, as suggested by Senator Mondale, would be helpful in alerting persons to implications for families.

Whenever the recommendations from this subcommittee may be, we fervently hope that they will be supportive of the family in both specific and general ways. We thank you for the opportunity to testify.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for an excellent statement. I deeply regret that we have no time to go over these matters more fully.

I think the focus on the family is essential.

Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Reverend Hobgood follows:]

Departments of Christian Education and
Church in Society
Division of Homeland Ministries
P.O. Box 1936
Indianapolis, IN 46206
(317) 353-1491

September 26, 1973

TESTIMONY
Before The
SUB-COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH

LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE COMMITTEE, UNITED STATES SENATE
of

Mr. Chris Hobgood
Representing the Departments of Christian Education and Church in Society
of the Division of Homeland Ministries of the Christian Church
(Disciples of Christ)

Mr. Chairman and members of the Senate Subcommittee on Children and Youth, my name is Chris Hobgood. I am pastor of the First Christian Church in Alexandria, Virginia. At this time I am representing not only myself, but also the Departments of Christian Education and Church in Society of the Division of Homeland Ministries of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), The Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) is a Protestant denomination with approximately 4,500 congregations and 1.3 million members throughout the country. While this statement is a personal response of myself and members of these two national program units of our church, it does reflect the thinking of a number of persons who are concerned with development of both family and social or community ministries to individuals and families through channels of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) at its various levels: local congregations, regional and national. Therefore, this statement suggests the direction of some of the concerns and future programs of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ).

The Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) strongly affirms the central importance of the family in the molding and supporting of persons. We believe that it is the family which can and should provide the basic sense of personhood and self-worth for children, as well as security and affirmation for youth and adults. To say that the family can and should serve these functions, however, is not to suggest that it is currently doing so in every instance. We are deeply concerned, in fact, about the failure of a great many families to serve these functions of developing and supporting persons.

While we believe that these families--and more particularly the persons in these families--must themselves bear the responsibility for such failures we maintain that the culture in which we live brings many pressures to bear on these persons and families in such a way as to contribute to said failures. Some of the pressures of divisiveness are primarily cultural. Many others are directly or indirectly the result of governmental policies.

We do not suggest that the government can pass laws and establish policies which eliminate family failures. We do believe, however, that the various governments under which we live--local, state, federal--can be cognizant of the effect of laws and policies upon families. More than simply being aware, however, we believe that government can seek to avoid creating laws and policies which negatively effect the ability of families to serve the functions of development and support of persons. In addition we believe that government can at times and in some areas take positive actions to support the healthy functioning of families.

We believe that there are several specific areas where governmental policy and/or legislation have in the past, are at present, or can in the future directly impinge upon the welfare and stability of families as they seek to serve these essential functions of development and support of wholesome personhood. Among the most important of these areas are the following:

CHILD CARE DEVELOPMENT As more families face the situation of both parents working outside the home, or as necessitated in growing numbers of one-parent families, we are greatly concerned that satisfactory child care and development facilities be available and accessible. Such facilities must be humane and complementary to the families' individual life styles. Since life styles and needs vary, facilities must vary in their functions and goals. Rather than neutralize the significance of the family, as some have said is the danger of such facilities, effective child development programs should reinforce the values inherent in the family while enabling the child to develop progressively through effective instruction and activities. Governmental support must be available to private agencies which attempt to provide such services. It may also be that the government itself may at times and in certain places be obligated to provide such services. We believe that the Child Development Act (S 2007) was a step in the right direction and very much regret its veto by president Nixon. We hope that similar legislation will, after careful study, be enacted in the very near future.

We see such legislation as not divisive of the family but as supportive of individual persons in their own growth. Satisfactory child care facilities can be supportive of the family as they provide extended family relationships while encouraging individual family members to work for their development and effectiveness as parents and family members. The availability of standard child care/development centers can serve to relieve tensions and frustrations which may exist in their absence. With these goals in mind, therefore, we affirm the need for facilities which are flexible, open to and supportive of parental involvement, and soundly based in principles of developmental psychology.

HUMAN SEXUALITY We believe that the government has a responsibility to be a resource and an advocate in the area of human sexuality. It must be a resource in providing information and services to persons and families for the task of sound education in sexuality. While we affirm that the schools and the churches have a responsibility in sex education, we maintain that it is ultimately the task of the family, and particularly the parents, to provide such education. We find, however, the parents are frequently ill-equipped for this task, and it is in providing information and resources for them that the government may be well equipped.

In addition, we believe that information and counseling in birth control must be available to parents and potential parents. Such a service--which may well include dissemination of birth control devices and abortion counseling and referral--could prevent many unhappy family situations and neglected children. Both of these goals could be implemented by the Congress by adding provisions for these services to future legislation that provides federal financial assistance for clinics, hospitals, etc.

As an advocate the government must support the right of women to equal opportunity. The passage of the Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution is a logical first step in this direction, followed by vigorous enforcement of its provisions. In this way all persons may have opportunity to find fulfillment for themselves as persons. Even without the Equal Rights Amendment, however, the government can provide support for women in their struggle for equality of opportunity.

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MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE-- We are distressed at the growing divorce rate, but do not feel that the answer is to be found in strengthening divorce laws. In fact, we support the growing trend toward the adoption of some form of "no-fault" divorce laws which we believe frequently lessen the tension and hostility involved in many divorce actions. We are more inclined to believe that the strengthening should come at the other end, that is, in marriage laws. We would urge consideration being given to a re-examination of laws governing marriage which might require more thought being given to the nature of the commitment being made than is presently the case. The time may well have come when the federal level needs to take an active role in effective marriage laws. With the mobility of our society the differences between states' laws become increasingly counter-productive. We doubt the wisdom of the federal government's enacting marriage laws, but we do feel it could take the initiative in encouraging the coordination of states' laws.

MENTAL HEALTH-- The other major point at which response to the growing divorce rate might be made is in the support and strengthening of mental health services. We regret the recent cutback in federal support to mental health and counseling services. Such support must be increased, both as a preventive measure and as a reconciling force in marriage and family breakdown. Marriage and family counseling services are greatly needed for families of all economic levels, and the provision of such services must be made a priority.

FAMILY STABILITY At several points we find governmental policy and legislation working against opportunities for family togetherness and stability. Particularly is this true in regard to the government as employer or as government policy affects private employers. Employment conditions which require frequent and/or long-term separation of the employee from his or her family should be avoided whenever possible. When travel is necessitated, compensation should be provided either for the family to accompany the employee or compensatory time off should be available to the employee. Opportunities for families to be with employees on the job site should be made available whenever possible. Frequent moves from community to community should be avoided whenever possible to enable the establishment and maintenance of roots in a community. Persons in prison should be much more accessible to familial visits both in frequency and duration. Many other changes which provide opportunity for family togetherness could also be implemented.

In conclusion we re-affirm our belief in the essential importance of the family in developing and supporting persons. We trust that the government shares a similar belief and will work to enable the family's functioning effectively. Perhaps a "family impact statement' accompanying new legislation, as suggested by Senator Mondale, would be helpful in alerting persons to implications for families. Whatever the recommendations from this sub-committee may be, we fervently hope that they will be supportive of the family in both specific and general ways.

Thank you.

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Senator **Mondale.** Our next witness is Dr. Andrew Billingsley, vice president for Academic Affairs of Howard University.

We are pleased to have you here today. I will place your statement in the record at the conclusion of your testimony.

You may emphasize the points you think bear special attention.

STATEMENT OF ANDREW BILLINGSLEY, PH. D., VICE PRESIDENT FOR ACADEMIC AFFAIRS, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY, HOWARD UNIVERSITY

Mr. **Billingsley.** I would like to read the introductory page and then skip to page 16 and then answer any questions you may have.

Mr. Chairman. Please permit me, first, to commend this committee and other Members of the Senate and the House who have decided to give concerted attention to the needs for Federal guidance and action designed to enhance the well-being of children within the context of their families. It is an area of our national life which has been long neglected with very grave consequences to the development of childhood and family life among all segments of the national population and most especially among the low- and middle-income sectors and among those ethnic groups who have faced historic patterns of racial discrimination.

As I understand it, your subcommittee is conducting a series of investigations designed to help clarify the role of governmental policies in the development of strong families "on the premise that nothing is more important to a child than a healthy family, and on the belief that often too little consideration is paid to the role of the family in the prevention and solution of children's problems." This is a concern which I have held for some time and by professional training, systematic research, observations as a citizen and family member, I have come to the belief that among the greatest needs of the Nation at this time is a concerned national policy, augmented by new legislation which will give priority and coherence to national, regional, and local efforts in the public and private sectors to reverse the present trends toward the disintegration of family life and to enhance both the structure and the functioning of families in the Nation both for the sake of their members, especially their children, and for the contribution a strong and viable family life can make to strengthening the social and moral fabric of other major institutions and, indeed, the Nation itself.

As a social scientist and as an educator concerned about the development of values and social structures which bring out the best, most creative and humanistic characteristics of people, I am often appalled at the manner in which the Nation assigns priorities to the various aspects of our national life. While we often give lipservice to the importance of families, asserting from time to time that the family is the most important institution among us and is the bulwark of our culture and society, the allocation of the Nation's resources and attention bespeak otherwise. This problem of misplaced priorities was addressed by Dr. Kenneth B. Clark in an appearance he made before a Senate committee as early as 1967:

> I think the budget is about as good an index of the priority society gives various problems as one can find. Our space program and the Vietnam war have budgetary supports which indicate tremendous seriousness. Our antipoverty

programs have budgetary indications of secondary, tertiary, peripheral priorities, and I don't think that we will solve the problems of our inner cities by relegating them to peripheral priorities.

All of us must be grateful that our participation in the Vietnam war has finally been brought to an end. Yet, the cessation of hostilities seems to have made no impact whatever on the budgetary priorities of the Nation. Indeed, the Government, supported by the overwhelming majority of its citizens, seems incapable of redirecting the vast economic resources devoted to war and war-related activities in order to enhance the quality of life for children and their families who are certainly the Nation's greatest resource for the future.

When we speak of enhancing family life as a major goal of Federal policies, it is not simply a matter of budgetary allocations, Federal spending, or welfare payments. The matter is much more complicated, complex, and intricate. A family is viable, in our view, to the extent that it is able to maintain its physical, social, and psychological integrity, meet the instrumental and expressive needs of its members, young and old, and meet the requirements which society places on all family groups. This is the definition of a healthy, well-functioning family.

Family viability, then, is a much more important concept than family stability which refers simply to staying together. The ability of a family to meet this test of viability depends quite heavily on its base of economic security, housing, and health care, the quality of its education, and the support from other major segments of the larger society.

In a paper prepared for the Joint Economic Committee's Subcommittee on Fiscal Policy, very ably chaired by Congresswoman Martha Griffiths, we have set forth our conception of the requirements of viable family life as follows: What the average man desires and needs is (1) a good job; (2) a good home; (3) good health; (4) a good education for his children; and (5) friendly relations with his neighbors. To the extent that men have these resources available to them, their family life will be strong, stable, and secure, and they will function very well indeed in meeting the needs of their members and the requirements of the larger society.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to conclude on page 16 by saying, finally, if family life is to be enhanced by national policy, local initiative must be meaningfully established. Parents, neighbors, relatives, and friends must have a major share in the decisionmaking about the functioning of all those institutions in the community and the larger society which have such an important and fateful bearing on the manner in which families function. In this way, families may regain a measure of their rightful influence on the institutions which supplement and often supplant them. Urie Bronfenbrenner in his book, "The Two Worlds of Childhood," has reminded us that the segregation and separation of children from the totality of the human experience represented by the variety of ages, sex, family structures, and community members is surely one of the more crippling aspects of the society in which we live.

There is, of course, a great deal of concern, a great deal of human kindness, and a certain degree of altruism among the American people. The problem is, these values are often not sufficiently rewarded, focused or developed by the leadership, by the professions, by the mass media, by the Government, and so the baser motives of man are allowed to take precedence. And those more privileged sectors of the society, those with access to certain kinds of power and influence are encouraged to use it in their own interests, in the interests of their own group or social class or race, and so the social well-being of the total society is neglected, and the well-being of those who are the least powerful, those who are very young or very old, those who are black, or poor, or dependent, must take a back seat.

Dr. James Comer, in his book "Beyond Black and White," states the problem clearly. He says, "We live in a society that makes trust and respect difficult. Our social system produces too much uncertainty, fear, and anxiety. This is due largely," he continues, "to the fact that America has a defect in its executive or leadership structure. In fact, the behavior of too much of our leadership group resembles neurotic patterns in individuals—fleeing from responsibility, failing to face up to reality, self-destructiveness." These words by Professor Comer were written more than 2 years ago and they are almost prophetic when we look at today's headlines and today's television.

"The task confronting America," he continues, "is the creation of a mature, representative leadership group and the development of specific social programs that take excessive insecurity out of American life."

It is very clear to us as we have observed the present dismantling of social programs and the reluctance to create new, better, comprehensive policies and programs that the Nation is not now embarked upon that course to take excessive insecurity out of American life.

President James E. Cheek of Howard University has observed that the Nation needs to make a commitment to equity and parity among all major segments of its population as a matter of simple social justice. This requires a certain reordering of the national priorities. I am convinced that we have the resources and the capacity to do so. The development of a comprehensive and coordinated family policy would be a giant step in that direction.

Senator MONDALE. Recently there have been some articles saying that there has been dramatic improvement in the condition of black Americans from the employment and economic standpoint. What is your view of that?

Mr. BILLINGSLEY. My view is those reports are misleading and simplistic. It is true there has been some improvement in the economic condition of black people over the years and particularly since 1960. Between 1960 and 1970, because of some of the governmental programs, there was a certain amount of improvement. However, since 1970 there has been a down-turn in the condition of black people and other poor people. There has been a decrease of poverty in the white community while the opposite is true of the black community.

The disparity between whites and blacks is on the increase. The problem of inadequate educational opportunities are still with us. It would be a mistake, I think, to relax any of those programs.

Senator MONDALE. Someone from the Census Bureau testified and in the figures on the white communities, divorce is rising dramatically, but there are more separations than divorces in the black community. What does that mean?

Mr. Billingsley. It means several things: One, it means divorces are more expensive than separations. It also means, however, that separations are sometimes temporary and, if things are not going well, a separation might be pursued rather than a final divorce as people sometimes get back together.

Senator Mondale. I was wondering about people who are earning so little that they cannot make it, what is their reaction when they are confronted by welfare laws that say you can get aid for your children if you are separated. Might it be creating a situation in which people separate in a nominal sense in order to get the extra help they need? Could that be a significant factor?

Mr. Billingsley. I think so. In more than half the States it is a legal requirement that men leave their families in order to get assistance.

Senator Mondale. We have 7 million people who are in the labor market working and who, at the end of the year, don't make enough to come up to the BLS budget statistically. I think it would be surprising if it didn't occur to some of them to supplement their income in this way, don't you agree?

Mr. Billingsley. I don't know about that, but I know that the real problem of poverty in the black community is not a problem of not working, it is a problem of working but not being able to support the family. Sometimes both men and women work full time and are still not able to support the family.

Senator Mondale. Thank you for your statement.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Billingsley follows:]

TOWARD A NATIONAL FAMILY POLICY

Andrew Billingsley, Ph. D.
Vice President for Academic Affairs
Professor of Sociology
Howard University

Presentation to
The United States Senate
Committee on Labor and Public Welfare
Subcommittee on Children and Youth

Hearings on
"American Families: Trends and Pressures"
26 September 1973

The author of this paper, Andrew Billingsley, has been Vice President for Academic Affairs and Professor of Sociology at Howard University in Washington, D.C. since 1970. He was previously Assistant Chancellor for Academic Affairs and Associate Professor of Social Welfare at the University of California at Berkeley.

He is the author of Black Families in White America (Prentice Hall, 1968) and Children of the Storm (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972).

A native of Birmingham, Alabama and a veteran of World War II, Dr. Billingsley did his early college work under the G. I. Bill of Rights at Hampton Institute in Virginia. Later he completed a degree in political science at Grinnell College in Iowa, and subsequently obtained advanced degrees in the social sciences at the University of Michigan and at Boston University. He earned the Ph. D. degree at the Florence Heller School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare at Brandeis University in 1964 where he wrote an award-winning dissertation on the professional and organizational context for child welfare services.

Dr. Billingsley is married to the former Amy Loretta Tate who is active in the Parent Teacher Association for the District of Columbia Public Schools where their two daughters, Angela and Bonita are students.

TOWARD A NATIONAL FAMILY POLICY

INTRODUCTION

Mr. Chairman, please permit me, first, to commend this Committee and other members of the Senate and the House who have decided to give concerted attention to the needs for federal guidance and action designed to enhance the well-being of children within the context of their families. It is an area of our national life which has been long neglected with very grave consequences to the development of childhood and family life among all segments of the national population and most especially among the low and middle income sectors and among those ethnic groups who have faced historic patterns of racial discrimination.

As I understand it, your Subcommittee is conducting a series of investigations designed to help clarify the role of governmental policies in the development of strong families "on the premise that nothing is more important to a child than a healthy family, and on the belief that often too little consideration is paid to the role of the family in the prevention and solution of children's problems." This is a concern which I have held for some time and by professional training, systematic research, observations as a citizen and family member, I have come to the belief that among the greatest needs of the nation at this time is a concerted national policy, augmented by new legislation which will give priority and coherence to national, regional and local efforts in the public and private sectors to reverse the present trends toward the disintegration of family life and to enhance both the structure and the functioning of families in the nation both for the sake of their members, especially their children, and for the contribution a strong and viable family life can make to strengthening the social and moral fabric of other major institutions and, indeed, the nation itself.

As a social scientist and as an educator concerned about the development of values and social structures which bring out the best, most creative and humanistic characteristics of people, I am often appalled at the manner in which the nation assigns priorities to the various aspects of our national life. While we often give lip service to the importance of families, asserting from time to time that the family is the most important institution among us and is the bulwark of our culture and society, the allocation of the nation's resources and attention bespeak otherwise. This problem of misplaced priorities was addressed by Dr. Kenneth B. Clark in an appearance he made before a Senate Committee as early as 1967. "I think the budget is about as good an index of the priority society gives various problems as one can find. Our space program and the Vietnam war have budgetary supports which indicate tremendous seriousness. Our anti-poverty programs have budgetary indications of secondary, tertiary, peripheral priorities, and I don't think that we will solve the problems of our inner cities by relegating them to peripheral priorities." All of us must be grateful that our participation in the Vietnam War has finally been brought to an end. Yet the cessation of hostilities seems to have made no impact whatever on the budgetary priorities of the nation. Indeed, when Daniel P. Moynihan was Counselor to the President, he warned us publicly that the end of the war would bring no appreciable increase in budgetary support for social programs of a domestic nature. The government, supported by the overwhelming majority of its citizens, seems incapable of redirecting the vast economic resources devoted to war and war-related activities in order to enhance the quality of life for children and their families who are certainly the nation's greatest resource for the future.

When we speak of enhancing family life as a major goal of federal policies, it is not simply a matter of budgetary allocations, federal spending or welfare payments. The matter is much more complicated, complex and intricate. A family is viable, in our view, to the extent that it is able to maintain its physical, social and psychological integrity, meet the instrumental and expressive* needs of its members young and old, and meet the requirements which society places on all family groups. This is the definition of a healthy, well-functioning family. Family viability, then, is a much more important concept than family stability which refers simply to staying together. The ability of a family to meet this test of viability depends quite heavily on its base of economic security, housing and health care, the quality of its education and the support from other major segments of the larger society. It depends, also, on a host of other factors all of which are amenable to social policies at the national level.

In a paper prepared for the Joint Economic Committee's Subcommittee on Fiscal Policy, very ably chaired by Congresswoman Martha Griffiths, we have set forth our conception of the requirements of viable family life as follows: What the average man desires and needs are (1) a good job, (2) a good home, (3) good health, (4) a good education for his children and (5) friendly relations with his neighbors. To the extent that men have these resources available to them, their family life will be strong, stable and secure and they will function very well indeed in meeting the needs of their members and the requirements of the larger society.

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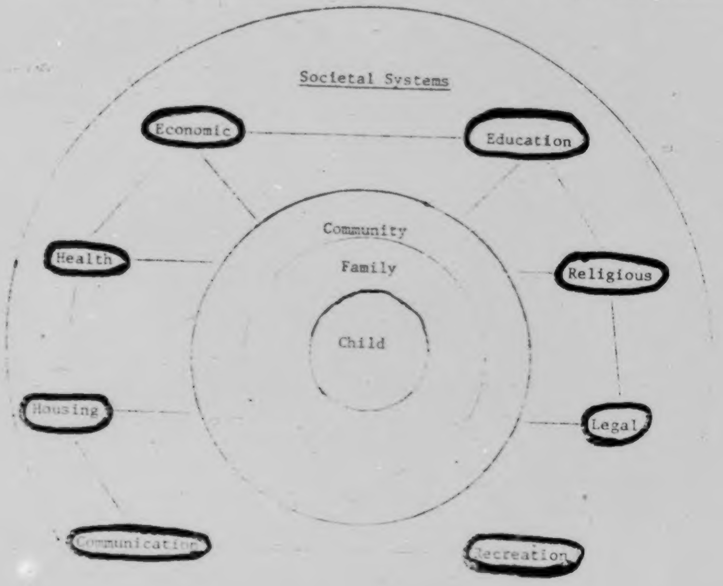
* Instrumental needs are those basic needs for food, clothing and shelter. Expressive needs are needs for satisfactory relationships including tender love and care.

The manner in which family functioning is influenced by social policies and social forces outside the family itself is illustrated by the following diagram taken from Black Families in White America. In this book, my wife and I have described


Societal Systems
Economic
Education
Health
Community
Family
Religious
Child
Housing
Legal
Communication
Recreation

a social systems approach to the study of family life. It suggests that the family is a dependent unit of the larger society, highly influenced by the policies and operations of these major segments or systems of that society. These systems have both a direct influence on family functioning and an indirect influence through their interrelatedness with each other. Thus while family viability can be enhanced by strong economic support--a good job at an adequate income, by adequate, safe and sanitary housing and by effective education, it is also necessary to recognize that these systems are themselves highly interrelated and interdependent. All are necessary and neither is sufficient in itself to produce and sustain viable families. The communications media, for example, have both direct and indirect influence on family life in the values they portray, the resources they provide as well as their teaching potential. This industry has not yet lived up to its potential for the enhancement of family life. Indeed, if we single out television as an example, both public and private, the performance is as disappointing as the potential is great.

In order, then, to utilize the resources of all these major segments of our national life, to enhance family functioning we need a national family policy.

ELEMENTS OF A NATIONAL FAMILY POLICY

A national family policy initiated by the Federal Government would designate the family unit, in all its variety of structure and forms, growing out of the cultural pluralism of the society and the varied and changing value systems, as the most important unit in society. We sometimes say that the family is the most important unit in society today, but there is no national policy or commitment to that view.

Thus, a host of other units turn out to be more important in the sense that they get more attention, protection, admiration and support from the national society than do families.

The designation of the family unit as the most important unit in society would require a national commitment to use all the resources of the Federal Government at all levels and the private sectors of society as well, to enhance the functioning of families. It may well be advisable that each of the major governmental functions, agencies, departments and programs should be evaluated according to their impact on family life. They should then be reconceived, redesigned, budgeted and administered in ways specifically calculated to enhance the functioning of families. Many of these agencies and programs now have the opposite effect. Such policy would require a conception of adequate, optimum and satisfactory family functioning.

If the family in all its variety is viewed as a subsystem of the larger society, then the enhancement of the functioning of family life is a responsibility of the larger society more than of the individual members of the family. This is a hard conception for Americans to grasp. We are so individualistic in our value system, so prone to blame the victim, so laissez-faire in our conception of collective responsibility, and so hostile toward people who seem to be poor, weak, and relatively helpless.

Yet these approaches and programs growing out of these approaches have not solved the problems confronting family life in the nation today, and they do not seem likely to do so. Viewed in the context of a creature of society and a dependent unit of the larger society, it becomes fairly clear what the priorities are for the enhancement of the functioning of families in this society. Measures designed to enable the families to maintain their viability, that is to say effectively meet the needs of their members, especially their youngest members, must emanate from the most important systems of the larger society with a bearing on family life. Chief among these are the economic system, the systems of housing, health care and education. Others are important too, but these are critical. And while all these systems are interrelated, a priority must be given to changes in the way the economic system functions for low- and moderate-income families.

One measure of the level of economic security of American families is suggested by the following data. The Labor Department has estimated that an urban family of four members in order to afford a modest standard of living needs an annual income in 1970 of at least $12,132. We also know that half of all American families earned less than that. These families are especially vulnerable. Furthermore, the Labor Department estimated that in order to manage well that same family would require an annual income of $18,545 per year. And we know that three fourths of all American families had incomes less than $15,000 in 1970.

And if we consider the Labor Department's lower budget of $7,183 barely enough to keep the family together, we must observe that nearly a third of all American families cannot sustain themselves at an acceptable level of economic well-being, health and decency. In my view it would be a mistake to base a national family policy on a level of economic security less than the Labor Department's intermediate budget based as it is on a very sophisticated estimate of the actual cost of living. A policy based on present conceptions of poverty levels would be self-defeating. A disproportionate share of the national resources must be devoted to the most disadvantaged populations in the nation. Otherwise, it will be difficult to ever solve the nation's social problems.

Presently the major national programs designed to reflect a basic commitment to the family are the welfare programs growing out of the Social Security Act of 1933 as revised by successive Congresses. The most notable of these programs is the program of financial aid to families with dependent children. This and related programs have had enormous benefits to recipients. In the ten years between 1960 and 1970, the number of recipients in this program rose from 2.4 million to more than 10 million. In a very careful analysis of studies of welfare, Henry Cohen has observed that since the inauguration of President Kennedy in 1961, the number of persons receiving public assistance doubled and that two-thirds of this increase occurred since President Nixon took office in January of 1969.

Despite its popularity with both the Congress and the people, this public assistance approach has a number of glaring problems for effective family functioning. First, the level of assistance is not sufficient to enable families to move out of poverty. Second, it is not provided to family units, but to individuals and thus has some inherent anti-family consequences. In more than half the states, even to this day, it is necessary that men, husbands and fathers leave their families by death, desertion, divorce or separation in order for the children and their mother to receive assistance. Third, in its manner of eligibility, administration and supervision it provides anti-work incentives which further erode the stability of family life. In most states any earned income results in a net loss of support. Fourth, the value context within which aid is administered and viewed in the country perpetuates negative attitudes toward and negative definitions of poor and needy people thus striking at the foundations of pride and dignity which are necessary ingredients of strong family life. When Professor Kenneth Clark testified before a Senate Committee in 1967, he argued against a simplistic economic solution that ignored the complexities of human existence. He said, "I think if you were to give every poor family $5000 now; the way welfare is administered, it is my personal opinion that this would not affect one iota the observable pathologies of the slums. I think the way welfare is administered, it seems to be calculated to dehumanize people, to make them see themselves as unworthy." Finally, its unevenness of levels in locally administered programs and the gross inequities which result make for hardships and feelings of relative deprivation and discrimination on the part of recipients and potential recipients and political pressure on the part of the more favored jurisdictions.

Professor Charles Hamilton has recently conducted studies which show that the major beneficiaries of welfare payments are not the poor recipients but other sectors of society. In his study Professor Hamilton observed that the large sums of money paid out in the present forms of welfare move very rapidly from the hands of the poor to the hands of the not-so-poor, and in fact they move very rapidly from the core of the urban city to the suburbs. He concludes:

> The money comes into the Black communities, to the tune of millions of dollars per year, but it goes right out. It is paid out to absentee landlords, to exploitative merchants, to

> credit gougers and loan sharks. The people we traditionally call "welfare recipients" are, in fact, really *conduits*. They *conduct* money from one segment of the economy [the public sector] to another [the private sector]. The *real* welfare recipients are those people who prey on the conduits every welfare-check day.

Little wonder then, that the American people, the dominant majority would rather keep the present system, corrupt as it is, than to make any major reforms in it.

It is in part because of these critical limitations of public assistance and partly because of its mounting size and costs that the most far-reaching reforms so far advanced were put forward under the sponsorship of President Nixon for the development of a Family Assistance Plan to replace the Aid to Families with Dependent Children plan. The Family Assistance Plan (FAP) was debated in the Congress, but not passed. It had several features which made it an outstanding advance over AFDC. First, it provided uniform rules of eligibility throughout the nation. Second, it provided a floor of guaranteed income for each family. Third, assistance would be available on the basis of need providing only that there was at least one child present. Thus families headed by men who are unemployed, men who work but who earn less than the level provided by the assistance plan, as well as families headed by women would all be eligible. There would be no requirement for the father's absence in order to become eligible. Each of these family types would be treated equally. Additionally, it provided that day care facilities should be provided for working mothers based on their ability to pay.

These features are absent from present programs and while representing a significant social advance with enormous consequences for the strengthening of family life among very poor populations, they were also among the more controversial features of FAP, particularly its proposed support for families of the working poor. From the point of view of family strengthening features, there were three major limitations of the FAP. First, the level of assistance was still not high enough to bring families out of poverty. The average assistance of $2400 per year for a family of four with no additional income seemed hardly adequate to the conditions of modern urban life. Furthermore, most of the northern urban states already provide levels of assistance higher than that.

A second limitation of FAP was its uneven treatment of the local jurisdictions, and its uneven provision of relief for heavily taxed states in the urban north and west. Still a third limitation of FAP was its inclusion of a provision for mandatory work on the part of mothers of young children, with no specification that a minimum wage be paid or that suitable employment be available or that the mothers be able to freely choose occupations. So, the strongest features of FAP which had the effect of strengthening family life were severely compromised by its mandatory work feature for mothers of young children.

Despite its promise of a movement from welfare to workfare, the FAP suffered the major dysfunctions of the AFDC program; namely, it was based on a limited conception of the needs for economic security in a highly complex industrial nation at this time. Its focus on particular families was an advance over the earlier focus on particular individuals, but it did not represent the necessary focus on the larger institutional fabric of society as a source of meeting the economic security needs of the poor as these instutitions now serve the nonpoor.

In order for the economic system to function as well for the enhancement of family life among low- and moderate-income people as it does for others, three efforts are necessary which will benefit all American families. These are the elimination of poverty, the elimination of structural unemployment and underemployment and the elimination of economic and job discrimination based on race, region and religion. A prime requisite for the fulfillment of these goals is an expanding and diversified civilian economy with full employment. A second requisite is a program of family economic supports for those not able to earn enough to move out of poverty. Families function better and they can take better care of their children when there is a variety of economic opportunity, including meaningful jobs for the adults in the family. Illness, crime and other forms of maladaptive behavior go up in direct proportion to the rise in economic insecurity and unemployment. Economists suggest that full employment would reduce unemployment at any particular time to around three to four percent. It now hovers around six percent according to government figures which underestimate "hidden unemployment" by at least fifty percent. And for most of the years since the Korean War, the unemployment rates in the Black community have exceeded the depression level unemployment rates experienced by the larger society.

A strong corellary to unemployment is underemployment where men and women work only part of the year and where they work for wages which are clearly substandard and where they work in situations and jobs which do not utilize their abilities and aspirations to the maximum. This particular problem is more pervasive in the Black community than is unemployment. It is the lot of a large segment of the working poor who constitute in turn the largest segment of the poor in the Black community. In the low-income Black community, most families are headed by men who work every day and still are not able to move their families above the poverty line. Clearly what is needed is not a work incentive plan, but a work opportunity plan with options and rewards commensurate with the aspirations of all men.

Contrary to popular belief, even in the Congress, poverty cannot be abolished by work incentives and even work opportunities alone. A family policy designed to enhance the functioning of families would not insist that mothers of young children abandon them against their will and go to work at meaningless jobs in order to insure that their children are properly fed. Family solidarity would be more highly valued than work, per se. Nearly fifteen percent of poor families in the country and nearly a third of poor families in the Black community are headed by women with young children who should not be forced to go out to work. The need, therefore, is for a program of family assistance which guarantees all American families a minimum income which will support a safe and sanitary standard of living. In 1973 dollars, that requires an income for a family of four in the neighborhood of $6500 per year.

A policy and program of guaranteed family income adequate to the family's need must be tailored to the variety of conditions which exist in various parts of the country. By the government's own standards, $2400 a year is not enough to move a family of four out of poverty. Indeed, it is less than half enough. Another approach has been taken by the National Welfare Rights Organization. They have called for a minimum income of $6500 a year, a position which has also been unanimously supported by the Congressional Black Caucus.

Still another approach has been taken by a group of ten Black economists who developed a program for People United to Save Humanity (PUSH) which incorporates many features of the basic requirements for family economic security. It recommends a program of tax credits for a family of four amounting to $5000 per year in 1972 dollars. In addition, it provides for work incentives by permitting families and individuals to keep half of all earnings until they reach the level of $10,000 in combined earnings and tax credits. There would be no mandatory work requirement. A breakdown in the level of assistance provided in this plan is shown in the following Table.

TABLE I

AFTER TAX INCOMES UNDER THE PUSH PROPOSAL
FAMILY OF FOUR, INCOMES UP TO $10,000

Earnings	Credit	Tax	Net Income	Refund
$ 0	$5,000	$ 0	$ 5,000	$5,000
2,000	5,000	1,000	6,000	4,000
4,000	5,000	2,000	7,000	3,000
6,000	5,000	3,000	8,000	2,000
8,000	5,000	4,000	9,000	1,000
10,000	5,000	5,000	10,000	0

According to a Gallup Poll conducted in 1970, a national sample of Americans estimated that the minimum income necessary to support a family of four was $120 a week. The federal government's own Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated in 1970 that a minimum of $130 a week was necessary for a family of four in metropolitan areas to maintain a minimum level of health and safety.

It must be clear from the above discussion that none of the current proposals before the Congress for family assistance policies are adequate to meet the real needs of the people who live outside the American dream. The question, then, becomes not so much which specific programs should be recommended, as how to develop a general national policy which requires every major government program to be conceived, designed, budgeted and operated so as to enhance the viability of families.

Thus, full employment, a minimum wage which assures that one wage earner can support a family of four at the minimum necessary for safety, health and decency, plus a guaranteed floor under the income of all American families would reflect a national commitment to the enhancement of family life which would go a long way toward solving the basic problems low- and moderate-income families face in this society at the present time. These programs need to be supplemented by a national system of health care along the lines recommended by the Kennedy-Griffiths Bill and the Congressional Black Caucus, a system of child care centers along the lines of those vetoed by the President in 1971, a national commitment to a decent, safe and sanitary home for every American family, and as much education and technical training as individuals wish to absorb and can be useful to the maintenance and further building of the society. And to undergird this commitment, a national program of family assistance which adopts the best features of the current proposals including FAP.

However, in all these matters, the economic base is paramount. Economic justice and equity according to the needs and values of the people is a requisite for a sound national family policy. In their massive "Counterbudget," the National Urban Coalition expressed a set of national priorities for the years between 1971 and 1976 much as the Freedom Budget Panel did for the years 1967-75. The Urban Coalition placed at the top of its priority list full employment and economic growth along with reasonable price stability. It further urged a national "Guarantee that no American will go without the basic necessities: food, shelter, health care, a healthy environment, personal safety and an adequate income."

Finally, if family life is to be enhanced by national policy, local initiative must be meaningfully established. Parents, neighbors, relatives and friends must have a major share in the decision making about the functioning of all those institutions in the community and the larger society which have such an important and fateful bearing on the manner in which families function. In this way, families may regain a measure of their rightful influence on the institutions which supplement and often supplant them. Urie Bronfenbrenner in his book, The Two Worlds of Childhood, has reminded us that the segregation and separation of children from the totality of the human experience represented by the variety of ages, sex, family structures and community members is surely one of the more crippling aspects of the society in which we live.

There is, of course, a great deal of concern, a great deal of human kindness, and a certain degree of altruism among the American people. The problem is, these values are not sufficiently rewarded, focused or developed by the leadership, by the professions, by the mass media, by the government, and so the baser motives of man are allowed to take precedence. And those more privileged sectors of the society, those with access to certain kinds of power and influence are encouraged to use it in their own interests, in the interests of their own group or social class or race, and so the social well-being of the total society is neglected, and the well-being of those who are the least powerful, those who are very young or very old, those who are Black, or poor, or dependent must take a back seat.

Dr. James Comer, in his book *Beyond Black and White*, states the problem clearly. He says, "We live in a society that makes trust and respect difficult. Our social system produces too much uncertainty, fear and anxiety. . . . "This is due largely," he continues, "to the fact that America has a defect in its executive or leadership structure. . . In fact, the behavior of too much of our leadership group resembles neurotic patterns in individuals--fleeing from responsibility, failing to face up to reality, self-destructiveness." These words by Professor Comer were written more than two years ago and they are almost prophetic when we look at today's headlines and today's television. "The task confronting America," he continues, "is the creation of a mature, representative leadership group and the development of specific social programs that take excessive insecurity out of American life." *Take excessive insecurity out of American life*. It is very clear to us as we have observed the present dismantling of social programs and the reluctance to create new, better, comprehensive policies and programs that the nation is not now embarked upon that course.

President James E. Cheek of Howard University has observed that the nation needs to make a commitment to equity and parity among all major segments of its population as a matter of simple social justice. This requires a certain reordering of the national priorities. I am convinced that we have the resources and the capacity to do so. The development of a comprehensive and coordinated family policy would be a giant step in that direction.

Senator MONDALE. Our final witness is Dr. Gunnar Dybwad.

We are pleased to have you with us. We will place your statement in the record at the conclusion of your testimony.

STATEMENT OF DR. GUNNAR DYBWAD, PROFESSOR OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT, HELLER GRADUATE SCHOOL, BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY

Mr. DYBWAD. The particular concern I would like to share with you today deals with the children who for various reasons live apart from their families, in large public institutions. Specifically, I want to deal with a program emphasis known as de-institutionalization, which has been endorsed by many authorities on the national scene and in many of our States.

Without doubt the most serious problem of institutionalization in our country is found in the State residential facilities for the mentally retarded, in terms of the number of children involved, in terms of the length of time individuals spend in these institutions—often enough, indeed, almost their entire lifetime—in terms of the emotional impact on families, in terms of the cost factor—approaching $10,000 a year per child—and last but not least, in terms of its impact on the institutionalized children themselves.

At this point, Mr. Chairman, I need to emphasize that although designated for the mentally retarded, these institutions have harbored to this day many other children for whom appropriate facilities were presumed to be lacking, such as the child with spinal bifida, a congenital malformation affecting the spinal cord, who may not have any impairment of intelligence, the child with autism, or the child with specific perceptual disabilities. Many of the children in these institutions are multiple handicapped, afflicted with cerebral palsy, seizure problems, blindness, deafness, and a host of other disabling conditions.

I am, of course, keenly aware that within the broad scope of your committee's present hearing the problem which I am addressing may appear to be of minor significance. But it is not minor to the families involved, and I was encouraged by the fact that the committee desired these hearings "to identify the pressures on various kinds of families and discover ways to alleviate them."

And pressures are indeed mounting in this area. There is pressure from parents who worry where, after their death, their retarded or otherwise developmentally disabled child now living with them will be cared for in the community. Just this morning in the Washington Post I saw a letter to Ann Landers from someone worried about a young child. Believe it or not, Ann Landers had two solutions. "Assuming, first, if there is ample money a paid companion could be hired and, second, a loving relative could make a home for him."

That is the extent she sees for the needs of a child like this.

Years ago the chances were slim that a severely disabled child would outlive his parents, indeed, grow into adolescence. The advent of antibiotics and other progress in medicine and public health has strikingly changed the picture. There is, on the other hand, pressure from parents who long ago were advised to place their child in an institution and now bitterly oppose official plans to move their child back home or to some community placement. And there is pressure on parents from institutions who want to close down buildings and from State administrative agencies which have enunciated a program of phasing out institutions altogether.

Right now in California there is legislation before the Governor which would disallow the closing of institutions unless in each instance the legislature gives its approval. In Minnesota, I received a flier from a group of parents who are opposing the plans for closing of institutions. In Michigan, legal action is underway opposed to the closing of institutions.

Reference needs to be made here to a pervasive confusion regarding the term deinstitutionalization. It should not be understood merely as a process of removing individuals from existing State institutions, but as a process of making large State institutions unnecessary by providing in the community, other modalities for care and treatment, more humane, more effective and more responsive to the needs and rights of the individuals involved. Too many of the present State efforts toward deinstitutionalization have focused only on providing a substitute abode for the person to be moved out of the institution, with often grossly insufficient attention to the many other life needs of disabled persons. Thus parents and professional workers alike have complained that in many instances the person is merely moved from one large institution to a smaller one, is left without adequate activity, guidance or supervision, still in relative isolation from the rest of the community. There is more than ample evidence that many individuals go to institutions in the first place because of the lack of community programs and services. Waiting lists for institutions are to a considerable extent waiting lists for a reasonable array of services the community or State has failed to provide.

Therefore, if deinstitutionalization is to embrace both prevention of institutionalization and return to the community of individuals now in the institution, it is contingent on the establishment of a network of community services. Here lies the crux of the problem. Two interrelated problems are intervening. The one is fiscal in nature.

Let me briefly say, the large institutions continue to get money. In Massachusetts, we have long since had a State policy, endorsed by the Governor, of deinstitutionalization, but the institutions still receive 90 percent of the money, so we continue to send people to institutions and the system maintains itself.

The other is a problem of organization. If you watch the problem, you see a constant reordering, but the people who need services do not get anything. They are still unserved and all the organizations in the country where they have a lack are on the firing line. For example, when Mrs. Smith has a problem and somebody ought to help her in the home with a difficult child.

I do give you some examples of the good things that are happening across the State. Very quickly, I would like to come to a few areas where I hope your committee could come to some action.

In Michigan, David Rosen, past-president of the National Association of Superintendents of Public Residential Facilities for the Mentally Retarded, is developing in the Macomb/Oakland area a network of community services somewhat similar to the Eleanor Roosevelt Developmental Services. But of particular interest is a project he is just undertaking with support from HEW's social and rehabilitation service. This project is a frontal attack on a problem which has led to much negativistic thinking regarding the possibility of deinstitutionalization.

From the foregoing comments it can be concluded that deinstitutionalization as a nationwide program constitutes a probem of considerable magnitude, involving hundreds of thousands of children and adults, and very considerable funds. Yet, present institutional costs exceed $1 billion annually, constituting an expenditure with very poor returns, a vast investment in brick and mortar and a heavy burden on the families and on the retarded children and adults themselves. Contrary to the opinion of some of my colleagues, I believe that in the long run the results of deinstitutionalization; namely, care in the community, will lead to substantial savings because the time and degree of dependency on services will be substantially curtailed, and general rather than specialized agencies will be increasingly utilized. However, as in any major enterprise, the new management system, that is, a network of community services, cannot be instituted on a broad scale without investment of some major funds. The question, of course, suggests itself whether this would be an appropriate area for Federal funding.

The States seem to feel every time they take somebody out of the institution they can afford to have somebody else in the community, but the major process has to wait until sometime when we have major investments such as Minnesota in social services.

Senator **MONDALE**. As you know, Minnesota was one of the leaders in this field. Many of the top leaders in the mental retardation field came out of that Minnesota effort.

We were surprised when the President, in his budget message, came out with the discontinuation of all these because it was unfair to provide these services for communities who had them while there were other communities that did not have them. Do you think that is an appropriate answer to this problem?

Mr. **DYBWAD**. Certainly not.

A multitude of Federal programs have been available on behalf of developmentally disabled children and their families, both in the institution and in the community. Among them are a variety of statutory insurance and social service benefits, with an elaborate array of rules and regulations. The most recent are the rules proposed by the Social and Rehabilitation Service September 5 concerning families, children, aged, blind, or disabled individuals. It is not feasible to go into the technical details here; what can be stated simply as the essence of the problem is that there is no clear Federal posture toward the problem here under discussion.

Programmatically, as has been indicated before, we have statements from the highest echelons of the Federal Government not only strongly endorsing deinstitutionalization but actually setting target dates and numbers. Yet the appropriations and, equally so, the rules delineating the manner in which money may be spent, obviously give any form of support for community programs a very low priority.

Community programing for developmentally disabled children and children with any type of severe handicap depends to a very considerable extent on the availability of special education services. Federal funds are drying up and we need to organize new services. We have a very difficult problem, of course, in the State of Massachusetts, for instance, and one must address oneself not only to one organization but to many school districts. We need some initial money to get these services going.

New rehabilitation legislation recently passed by Congress is awaiting the President's signature. It is of considerable significance to the problem of deinstitutionalization because it has repeated references to services to severely handicapped with hesitation, in spite of convincing demonstration of their potential for production and partial self-support. Therefore, in this area we not only have again a discrepancy between Federal program goals and the unduly limited funding, but we have on the national scene the challenge that if the Federal Government is interested in implementing a policy of deinstitutionalization, it must be prepared to support action programs designed to gain acceptance for severely retarded persons within rehabilitation services specifically, and the American economy in general.

For future consideration I would like to put before this committee a rather specific and highly technical matter which is of crucial import in the development of a system of residential facilities in the community, appropriate to the spectrum of dependency and needed care. I refer to the matter of the varying building codes in force in this country, to the life safety code and to the local zoning ordinances. Many of these codes and ordinances are based on attitudes toward severely handicapped persons which no longer represent the current state knowledge and practice. Yet they interfere with efforts to create new community facilities.

They are predicated, one might say, on institutionalization rather than on deinstitutionalization, on segregation rather than integration. At the same time they are so intimately related to preservation of life that their sponsors are not inclined to favor changes toward greater flexibility.

So we have a head-on collision between individuals who would like to place individuals in small home facilities and all these code restrictions which make it impossible for a handicapped person to live in a formal environment in the community.

There is another technical area that is of significance to the process of deinstitutionalization but also relates in a very tangible way to the committee's overall interest in the changing role of the family in the prevention and solution of children's problems. In general our attention is focused on the relative roles of the family and of Government in deciding courses of action for children with special needs. In the area of institutionalization parents have had and still are granted, or at least will claim, considerable discretion in deciding on their children's care. Still today they can bring their child to a State institution which in effect is closed and arrange for the child to be admitted as a "voluntary" resident. A good number of parents have been vociferous in claiming their right to decide whether or not their child was to be released from the institution or not. But times have changed. The President's Committee on Mental Retardation has published and distributed the Declaration on the Rights of Mentally Retarded Persons, adopted by the U.N. General Assembly. Eighteen-year-olds can vote, including, as a matter of recorded fact, 19-year-old developmentally disabled individuals in State institutions. States have adopted statutes giving children down to the age of 12 (in Michigan) the right to admit themselves without parental consent to a residential drug treatment facility. Is it not time for us to consider under what circumstances a young man or young woman, 16 years of age, should be able to renege the "voluntariness" of his admission, through his parents to a State institution for the mentally retarded.

On the basis of my own years of experience in the correctional field I can state that imprisonment in our institutions for the mentally retarded is often vastly more uncomfortable, vastly more restrictive, vastly more interfering with personal integrity than in institutions for juvenile delinquents. The rights of the institutionalized child would appear to call ever more urgently for reappraisal.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I have appended to my remarks two copies of a publication that might be interesting to your staff and yourself. One of the problems is to let the people know what the problems of the parents are. The new provisions for handicapped individuals could have a great impact, but the difficulty is to get this information down to the level of the common citizen and this problem is addressed here in some way, which appealed to me particularly. I thought you would be interested in it.

Overall, let me repeat that deinstitutionalization is a very urgent matter for us from many points of view. It is something everybody approves of but, as yet, we have very little positive support and across the country it is proceeding at a very slow rate and, actually, we still have the building of new massive institutions in many of our States.

Senator MONDALE. What percentage of children now institutionalized could properly and adequately be cared for in the home or in the community?

Mr. DYBWAD. Senator, where Cambridge is now located in your own State, there is going to be a State park. I think all these institutions will be razed to the last building. There is nobody in that institution who could not be in some facility in his own home community or near to his own home community. Some of them will be in what the Federal Government now terms the medicare facilities, near a hospital, not in a hospital.

Some of them will be in homes in the communities. Some will be in the group facilities. However, the day of the great institution is over. We cannot get professional people there. It is much more efficient to deal with these people where they belong, so that I feel that not a single person in Cambridge—and I was there just on Monday—would have to remain there.

The problem will take us some years because we have a backlog of badly neglected individuals in these institutions.

When I say these institutions will not exist any longer, it will take from 10 to 15 and maybe in some cases up to 15 years before the last building is closed. However, we have the know-how.

One of the programs I have described briefly in my paper deals with the hard-to-place people. Mr. Rosen, in Michigan, received money from the Federal Government to place in the next 3 years 100 children each merely in the Macomb/Oakland area; that is, Mount Clemens and Pontiac in Michigan. These were 100 children who were considered nonplaceable. His project is to place nonplaceable children.

Just as in special education we now educate the noneducable. Therefore, I am absolutely convinced that we will place the unplaceable children in the community and we will do so, of course, in the increasing number by not taking them to the institutions in the first place.

Senator **Mondale**. We had a law in Minnesota a few years ago that State mental institutions, when they found that they had done all they could, say, for an older person, could tell the county they had to take the person back and make arrangements for them.

Of course, if they did so, that burden was on the local taxpayer. If you kept him in the State institutions, he was on the State financing. Then they changed the law and said, "If you cannot find a place, we will find a place for you and send you the bill and you must pay it."

Within 3 months, the county found all kinds of places for the folks.

Dr. **Dybwad**. I think the problem with which I am instrumentally acquainted is delinquent children in mental institutions where parents did not have to pay, so that if your child was retarded but not delinquent, the parent was charged. If he was delinquent, his care was free.

I think all these differential payments have caused difficulties. But in education, once the schools know they have to pay for the child whether he is in an institution or a neighboring county, they must pay for their own children. We have much less resistance in the area of special education.

I completely agree with you in the field of mental health. Once we have a formula—and I don't care whether it is—one formula that the people cannot escape, then the other problem remains and I make reference to this: that we organize services so the family in a small town or village in Minnesota knows where to go and who is to help them.

I think we are making progress in this, but that is still the big problem. In my own State of Massachusetts with more medical schools than you can shake a stick at, a girl friend of one of my students gave birth to a child with hydrocephalus. This 17-year old child has been left alone other than that some clinic gave her a high-sounding diagnosis for 17 months with a child who needs highly specialized care.

She didn't want the child institutionalized, but we left the child with this young mother. Time has now moved on. She is now eighteen and a half and she still has this child with her.

This kind of lack of service which creates a child who would eventually have to go to an institution also creates a mother that might have to go to an institution. All we would have needed was some very simple services in the home. Someone to help with the service delivery is our problem.

Senator **Mondale**. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Dybwad follows:]

DE-INSTITUTIONALIZATION - AN UNMET CHALLENGE

Testimony of Gunnar Dybwad
before
U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
Subcommittee on Children and Youth
Washington, D.C., September 24, 1973

Mr. Chairman, my name is Gunnar Dybwad; I live in Wellesley, Massachusetts and am professor of human development at the Florence Heller Graduate School of Brandeis University. I am also serving as Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Special Education to the Massachusetts State Board of Education and as Vice-Chairman of the Massachusetts Advisory Council for the Planning, Construction, Operation or Utilization of Facilities for the Mentally Retarded. Before the problems of mentally retarded citizens and their families became my main professional focus and concern, I had been Executive Director of the Child Study Association of America, head of the Children's Division in the Michigan State Department of Social Welfare, and had worked many years in correctional institutions for juveniles as well as in prisons and reformatories.

I want to thank the Committee for asking me to participate in these important hearings dealing with American Families: Trends and Pressures.

The particular concern I would like to share with you today deals with the children who for various reasons live apart from their families, in large public institutions. Specifically, I want to deal with a new program emphasis known as de-institutionalization, which has been endorsed by many authorities on the national scene and in many of our states. Institutions for children have, on the whole, not been an area of great achievement in our country, as Albert Deutsch and other writers have dramatically documented. In the field of juvenile delinquency, de-institutionalization is being pursued with vigor in at least some of our states, and I would mention here in particular New York State and Massachusetts. While in the field of childhood mental illness we face many serious problems, institutionalization plays a lesser role, indeed many states have been very remiss in developing specialized residential treatment facilities for this group. Without doubt the most serious problem of institutionalization in our country is found in the state residential facilities for the mentally retarded, in terms of the number of children involved, in terms of the length of time individuals spend in these institutions (often enough, indeed, almost their entire lifetime), in terms of the emotional impact on families, in terms of the cost factor (approaching $10,000 a year per child), and last but not least, in terms of its impact on the institutionalized children themselves. At this point, Mr. Chairman, I need to emphasize that although designated for the mentally retarded, these institutions have harbored to this day many other children for whom appropriate facilities were presumed to be lacking, such as the child with spinal bifida, a congenital malformation affecting the spinal cord, who may not have any impairment of intelligence, the child with autism, or the child with specific perceptual disabilities. Many of the children in these institutions are multiply handicapped, afflicted with cerebral palsy, seizure problems, blindness, deafness and a host of other disabling conditions.

I am, of course, keenly aware that within the broad scope of your Committee's present hearing the problem which I am addressing may appear to be of minor significance. But it is not minor to the families involved, and I was encouraged by the fact that the Committee desired these hearings "to identify the pressures on various kinds of families and discover ways to alleviate them."

And pressures are indeed mounting in this area. There is pressure from parents who worry where, after their death, their retarded or otherwise developmentally disabled child now living with them will be cared for in the community. Years ago the chances were slim that a severely disabled child would outlive his parents, indeed, grow into adolescence. The advent of antibiotics and other progress in medicine and public health has strikingly changed the picture. There is, on the other hand, pressure from parents who long ago were advised to place their child in an institution and now bitterly oppose official plans to move their child back home or to some community placement. And there is pressure on parents from institutions who want to close down buildings and from state administrative agencies which have enunciated a program of phasing out institutions altogether.

The extent of the conflict engendered can be seen from the fact that at this very time legislation has been submitted to California's Governor for signature, which prevents the State Administration from closing any mental health or mental retardation institution unless the Legislature specifically approves such a plan. Just day before yesterday, in Minnesota, I was handed a flyer urging parents to protest plans to abolish the state institutions for the mentally retarded, and urging them to join a new "Organization of Concerned Families" to fight de-institutionalization plans. In other states protest meetings have been held and in Michigan legal action has been initiated to prevent closing of such an institution. Significantly, the opinions of workers in the field differ just as sharply, some feeling strongly that the closing of state institutions for the mentally retarded should be programmed out like the hospitals for the mentally ill, only at a somewhat later date. Other workers consider it totally unrealistic to carry through a program without the back-stopping role of the state institution. In the organizational field, national associations have issued policy statements recommending at least a phasing down of institutions, while local groups are apt to take the opposing view.

Reference needs to be made here to a pervasive confusion regarding the term de-institutionalization. It should not be understood merely as a process of removing individuals from existing state institutions but as a process of making large state institutions unnecessary by providing in the community, other modalities for care and treatment, more humane, more effective and more responsive to the needs and rights of the individuals involved. Too many of the present State efforts towards de-institutionalization have focused only on providing a substitute abode for the person to be moved out of the institution, with often grossly insufficient attention to the many other life-needs of disabled persons. Thus parents and professional workers alike have complained that in many instances the person is merely moved from one large institution to a smaller one, is left without adequate activity, guidance or supervision, still in relative isolation from the rest of the community. There is more than ample evidence that many individuals go to institutions in the first place because of the lack of community programs and services. Waiting lists for institutions are to a considerable extent waiting lists for a reasonable array of services the community or state has failed to provide.

Therefore, if de-institutionalization is to embrace both prevention of institutionalization and return to the community of individuals now in the institution, it is contingent on the establishment of a network of community services. Here lies the crux of the problem. Two interrelated problems are intervening. The one is fiscal in nature, the other is organizational.

The fiscal point relates to the wellknown sociological concept of system maintenance. An example will suffice. Even though the Governor of Massachusetts and his Secretary of Human Services have made de-institutionalization in the areas of mental health and mental retardation a top priority, essentially in pursuit of Departmental goals established as long ago as 1966, a recent report from the Massachusetts Advocacy Center highlights that the vast majority of the Department's resources continue to be allocated to the institutions, with only a small fraction going to community services. Massachusetts, along with all other states, undertook a statewide comprehensive mental retardation planning effort ten years ago under the provisions of PL 88-154. While the report itself was excellent, practically nothing happened as a consequence towards facilitation of community services, with the result that Massachusetts like many other states lacks the kind of basic services parents need for their handicapped children and for themselves.

Here is a matter to which your Committee might want to give some attention. Reorganization is in the air and has been, for quite some years, not just in the federal establishment but in state government as well. However, as one watches the succession of reorganization moves, usually engineered by experts in management and administration, one sees forever a reshuffling and reordering of the upper and middle eschelons, a game of musical chairs moving agencies and positions hither and yon, and at times removing them. Yet little if anything ever happens on the front line, in the area of direct consumer services, and this means, in our context, services to parents of handicapped children. This brings us back to the focal point of your hearing.

There are, of course, exceptions to what I consider a generally gloomy picture across the country, and I shall give a few examples. In New York State, the Eleanor Roosevelt Developmental Services provides the six-county Capital District with imaginative approaches. Although a new institution was built for this area, the director, Dr. Hugh Lafeve, preferred not to use it as a massive residential resource. Instead he utilized a considerable number of the staff positions for service teams organized in each of the six counties, leasing many of the residential care buildings to local organizations, public and private, for a variety of purposes including day care, respite care, etc. all on behalf of the developmentally disabled. The nature of these services is strikingly different from those in most of our state institutions. I personally know of no other instance where state owned buildings have been put to such innovative use and really made a part of community efforts. It is worthy of note that Dr. Lafeve was mainly responsible for the closing of a large institution of the Provincial government of Saskatchewan, through initiating and nurturing a system of dispersed community services.

Ohio has most recently enacted a Law (HB-761) to make possible the setting up of group homes and other related community services. The program was implemented by substantial appropriations for construction of residential facilities at the community level and for purchase of care. Eligible for these services are not just those presently in institutions (a restriction which has been set up elsewhere) but anyone who at some time might become an institutional resident. A key point of the Ohio situation is the District Case Management Service encompassing no less than 8 levels of differential care in the community, from room and board with minimum supervision all the way to room and board with skilled nursing care.

This 8-level community residence model undoubtedly was influenced by the earlier work done by the ENCOR organization in Omaha, Nebraska, serving a 5-county area, one of the first structured de-institutionalization demonstrations in the country.

In Michigan David Rosen, Past-President of the National Association of Superintendents of Public Residential Facilities for the Mentally Retarded, is developing in the Macomb/Oakland area a network of community services somewhat similar to the Eleanor Roosevelt Developmental Services. But of particular interest is a project he is just undertaking with support from HEW's Social and Rehabilitation Service. This project is a frontal attack on a problem which has led to much negativistic thinking regarding the possibility of de-institutionalization. To quote from the project description:

> "It is becoming increasingly clear, that while many mentally retarded persons have been returned to the larger community, a substantial segment has been routinely passed over for such consideration. This group is variously referred to as the "hard to manage", "really tough ones", "hard to place", etc. The persons comprising

> this category are the youngsters and adults exhibiting a wide range of behavior problems such as hyperactivity, tantrum behaviors, and those with complicating physical handicaps that compound learning difficulties such as the blind, the deaf, and the infirm.
>
> "In a recent survey, it was estimated that of the approximately 1,000 mentally retarded persons living in state institutions from Macomb or Oakland County, at least half are considered "hard to place".
>
> "If the movement of deInstitutionalizing the retarded is going to go beyond the point of mild satisfaction, a vigorous effort must be directed at seeking model placements and programs for these individuals who, while not readily appealing as traditional candidates for community living, neither require nor deserve institutional residence.
>
> "It is the intent of the Macomb-Oakland Residential Center to assure swift return to the community and quality support services for all the retarded citizens of Macomb and Oakland Counties. The specific intent of this proposal is to seek aid for the development of a six member team which would concentrate exclusively on satisfying identical priorities for the "hard to place" population as are sought for the minimally handicapped."

What is most significant about this project is that it is not a small demonstration but rather is designed to return to the community of this 2-county area, in each of the 3 project years, 100 hard-to-place individuals. The success of this project will go far in pointing to a community solution for children for whom today the institution is thought to be the only answer; in other words, it will decrease community demands for institutional placement.

I From the foregoing comments it can be concluded that de-institutionalization as a nationwide program constitutes a problem of considerable magnitude, involving hundreds of thousands of children and adults, and very considerable funds. Yet, present institutional costs exceed one billion dollars annually, constituting an expenditure with very poor returns, a vast investment in brick and mortar and a heavy burden on the families and on the retarded children and adults themselves. Contrary to the opinion of some of my colleagues, I believe that in the long run the results of de-institutionalization, namely care in the community, will lead to substantial savings because the time and degree of dependency on services will be substantially curtailed, and general rather than specialized agencies will be increasingly utilized. However, as in any major enterprise, the new management system, i.e., a network of community services, cannot be instituted on a broad scale without investment of some major funds. The question,of course,suggests itself whether this would be an appropriate area for federal funding. I hope your Committee can give this due consideration.

II A multitude of federal programs have been available on behalf of developmentally disabled children and their families, both in the institution and in the community. Among them are a variety of statutory insurance and social service benefits, with an elaborate array of rules and regulations. The most recent are the rules proposed by the Social and Rehabilitation Service September 5 concerning families, children, aged, blind or disabled individuals. It is not feasible to go into the technical details here; what can be stated simply as the essence of the problem is that there is no clear federal posture toward the problem here under discussion. Programmatically, as has been indicated before, we have statements from the highest echelons of the federal government not only strongly endorsing de-institutionalization byt actually setting target dates and numbers. Yet the appropriations and, equally so, the rules delineating the manner in which money may be spent, obviously give any form of support for community programs a very low priority. This is a matter which definitely calls for Congressional review and appropriate Congressional intervention in the expectation that a coherent federal posture can be developed, sympathetic to the cause of de-institutionalization.

III Community programming for developmentally disabled children and children with any other type of severe handicap depends to a very considerable extent on the availability of special education services. This does no longer necessarily mean special classes or special schools because in many cases the utilization of special resource teachers and methods will enable a child with special needs to remain in his regular class or homeroom. For some children, however, special classes are still an unquestioned necessity. The main point is that de-institutionalization, i.e., prevention of institutionalization or return to community care of institutionalized children is largely dependent on special education services. In this area federal leadership and federal support on a project basis is urgently needed. Here again appropriations are at odds with federal programmatic pronouncements.

IV New rehabilitation legislation recently passed by Congress is awaiting the

President's signature. It is of considerable significance to the problem of de-institutionalization because it has repeated references to services to severely handicapped persons. Rehabilitation as a field has responded to the needs of the severely handicapped with hesitation, in spite of convincing demonstrations of their potential for production and partial self-support. Therefore, in this area we not only have again a discrepancy between federal program goals and the unduly limited funding, but we have on the national scene the challenge that if the federal government is interested in implementing a policy of de-institutionalization, it must be prepared to support action programs designed to gain acceptance for severely retarded persons within rehabilitation services specifically, and the American economy in general.

V For future consideration I would like to put before this Committee a rather specific and highly technical matter which is of crucial import in the development of a system of residential facilities in the community, appropriate to the spectrum of dependency and needed care. I refer to the matter of the varying building codes in force in this country, to the life safety code and to the local zoning ordinances. Many of these codes and ordinances are based on attitudes toward severely handicapped persons which no longer represent the current state of knowledge and practice. They are predicated, one might say, on institutionalization rather than on de-institutionalization, on segregation rather than integration. At the same time they are so intimately related to preservation of life that their sponsors are not inclined to favor changes toward greater flexibility. And yet, coming back to the focal point of this Hearing, the American family, parents should be able to arrange to have their severely handicapped son, who has lived with them into adulthood, move into a small group residence that has more the characteristics of their own home than of an emergency hospital ward. The time is ripe for a broad scale approach to this problem.

VI There is another technical area that is of significance to the process of de-institutionalization but also relates in a very tangible way to the Committee's overall interest in the changing role of the family in the prevention and solution of children's problems. In general our attention is focused on the relative roles of the family and of government in deciding courses of action for children with special needs. In the area of institutionalization parents have had and still are granted, or at least will claim, considerable discretion in deciding on their children's care. Still today they can bring thier child to a state institution which in effect is closed and arrange for the child to be admitted as a "voluntary" resident. A good number of parents have been vociferous in claiming their right to decide whether or not their child was to be released from the institution or not. But times have changed. The President's Committee on Mental Retardation has published and distributed the Declaration on the Rights of Mentally Retarded Persons, adopted by the U.N. General Assembly. Eighteen yearolds can vote, including, as a matter of recorded fact, 18 yearold developmentally disabled individuals in state institutions. States have adopted statutes giving children down to the age of 12 (in Michigan) the right to admit themselves without parental consent to a residential drug treatment facility. Is it not time for us to consider under what circumstances a young man or young woman, 16 years of age, should be able to renege the "voluntaryness" of his admission, through his parents to a state institution for the mentally retarded?

On the basis of my own years of experience in the correctional field I can state that imprisonment in our institutions for the mentally retarded is often vastly more uncomfortable, vastly more restrictive, vastly more interfering with personal integrity than in institutions for juvenile delinquents. The rights of the institutionalized child would appear to call ever more urgently for reappraisal.

VII

As I read over the general introductory statement to these Hearings with the long catalogue of family problems, I could not help but wonder how parents could be enabled to keep up with all the flow of information essential for their pursuit of the happiness of their child and their own. Obviously one of the great problems of the federal government is to be on speaking terms with the concerned citizen, and that is why I decided I should bring to your Committee's attention a rather unique communication device, initiated by two concerned mothers in Seattle, Washington, who have organized themselves as "Trouble Shooters, Inc.", affiliated themselves with a community center, and started to publish INSIDE SCOOP. Time does not permit me to read from this remarkable publication, so I have appended two sample pages because what concerns me very deeply in this whole process of de-institutionalization is to provide for parents clear information in helpful form on the options available to them and their children.

INSIDE SCOOP IX

A regular monthly publication of Troubleshooters Inc , a project of Northwest Center

Katie Dolan, Project Director
Janet Taggart, Writer-Reporter
Yvonne Grenman, Project Manager

Located at Building 250, Pier 91
Seattle, Washington 98119
AT 4-1037

WHAT'S NEW WITH THE TROUBLESHOOTERS ?

Every day new problems arise that seem to have no solutions. We try to develop a system for these unique or complex problems of mental retardation. Why systems? Because we have found if one person has an insoluble problem, you can be sure other people have the same problem. Therefore, we develop systems that can be used all ove the state of Washington.

WE HAVE HAD MANY REQUESTS TO MAIL THE INSIDE SCOOP TO PARENTS. WE DON'T HAVE THE STAMP MONEY OR THE TIME. JUST ASK YOUR LOCAL WARC CHAPTER TO INCLUDE AN EXTRA PAGE WITH THEIR NEWSLETTER. EVERY MONTH WE DELIVER 70 INSIDE SCOOPS TO THE STATE WARC TO BE INCLUDED IN YOUR PRESIDENTS MAILING. SEVERAL CHAPTERS ARE INCLUDING THE 'SCOOP' AND THE RESPONSES ARE TERRIFIC! COUNTY MENTAL RETARDATION BOARDS ARE ALSO SENDING TH SCOOP. ASK AND YOU SHALL RECEIVE.

Dear Katie:
I am a caseworker and I have a client who is 83 and has a severely retarded daughter who is 36 years old. Mother is not able to care for herself or her daughter now and I was wondering how to get the daughter in Fircrest. Both mother and daughter really require nursing home services.

Caring Caseworker

Dear Caring:
We love your concern. Why worry about Fircrest? Why not use our latest system (developed while I was talking to you), the Mother-Daughter-Serve-Alike System? Both ladies are on public assistance. Both are in need of nursing homes. How nice that they could be together and receiving the care that they both need. New friends will no doubt make life a lot more pleasant for both mother and daughter and how much easier for the daughter when she is left alone. Please let us know if this system works for you. READERS: Call AT 4-1037 if you know of any family situations of this type in nursing homes, ICF's etc. Husbands and wives, too:

Hopeful Katie

X-X-X-X

Dear Janet and Katie:
Another mother suggested that I call you. I am a mother of a 22 year old retarded son. I'm on public assistance (disability) since I broke my leg, then a knee, then had two heart attacks. I have 2 daughters 14 and 16. Their father deserted them all my son needs help. He was kicked out of one school because they said he was a grump. He didn't like the sheltered workshop because the kids teased him. He was at Rainier for one year, coming home in April. Since then I have called 35 places for help but no one can help me. I only want him to be happy and busy. My friend said you could help us.

Helpless Mother

Dear Mother:
First, don't make another telephone call. Katie once got herself into that trap when Patrick was about 4 and ended up with nothing. Second, sit down with your son and write down what you really want for yourselves. In the meantime we will relate your problem to a Rainier Field Worker and see if he can pull it all together. NEXT CHAPTER: Mr. Henry Frank, arranged for your son to apply at a Sheltered Workshop. The sheltered workshop would love to serve your son, but needs more support than the usual $5.00 per day. Your local County Mental Retardation Board is very interested in funding a program that would offer intensive, individualized skill training to someone like your son. Finally, no one wants to be a 'grump'. How long has it been sinc he had a complete physical examination? Maybe he needs a vitamin B shot, iron or som calcium or a tranquilizer. NEXT CHAPTER: A doctor in your local area is interested and you have an appointment.

What is the moral of this story? What is the system that Troubleshooters developed? Try to stick with one person or agency and keep demanding the service you need. We parents let them off the hook if we say 'Thank you, anyway'. Another time, another parent, another son, try asking the agency, the volunteer organization, the workshop, etc., to put their refusals in writing or take a tape recorder and ask the intake person to speak right into the microphone! No mother needs to go to 35 places to get help from one, or two.

Troubleshooters Janet & Katie

X X X X

This edition of the Inside Scoop is featuring the educational needs of all handicapped children in the Seattle School District and those in contracting districts.

Katie Dolan, Project Director
Janet Taggart, Writer-Reporter
Yvonne Brennan, Project Manager

U.W. Center Summer Pitch-In Project
Located at Building 250, Pier 91
Seattle, Wn. 98119 AT 4-1037

Dear Janet:
My daughter is 19. She has worked in a sheltered workshop this summer, but now she can't get to it. She doesn't really have any work skills. Could she get some vocational training? I think she could be a good worker.

Working Mother

Dear Working:
We, too, have great respect for work. Your school is obligated to offer an educational program to your daughter until she is 21 or until she has work skills. Why not talk to your principal and ask what their plans are for your daughter. Then do one more thing. Talk to Renee Novak, president of the Pacific School P.T.A. and get together with other concerned parents to develop a truly meaningful vocational education post graduate program (18-21) for your daughters and sons.

Working Janet

Dear Katie & Janet:
My daughter is 13. She is severely handicapped with cerebral palsy. No one knows if she is mentally retarded or not. Also, doctors and teachers have argued about how best to teach her. The doctors say her behavior is neurologically originated. The agency teachers feel she is emotionally upset and that I aggravate her condition. I'm confused and hope she will get a new chance in Seattle Public Schools.

Confused Mother

Dear Mother:
Oh, how we do understand! But good news is here for you. In our Seattle Public School District there will be a complete evaluation center. Children such as your daughter with unique learning problems will be able to go to this center for complete study and personalized evaluations where finally a program of education will be developed just for your daughter. Call Mr. Bill Atteberry 587-5025 for placement of your daughter into this special testing program.

Katie & Janet

Dear Katie:
My son was kept in terrible programs for the deaf and then kicked out of public schoo in 1969. He proved not to be deaf at all! He has been taught perfectly at a private school since 1970. Now the public schools want me to bring him back. I hate and fear the public school. I should sue them not give them back my child. What do you say:

Frightened Mother

Dear Mother:
Again, I understand. Remember, there has been a complete change in the special educational division of Seattle Public Schools. Also, in the last years, Seattle Public Schools has paid for your child in his private non-profit school. Now, special educators want to make up to you and your son, but most importantly, they want to serve other children who have mysterious learning problems. I can't advise you more than to say my son also suffered as your son, only my son never received any education from the Seattle Public Schools. Now new people and new techniques can and will offer programs to all. Your son, as mine, has been one of the martyrs to bring about this great social change. But they have helped thousands of children everywhere. Now your son can help develop programs in the public schools where all can benefit.

Understanding Katie

Dear Janet:
My child has learning and language disorders. He has always been in school but not always in his own district. He is now in junior high. Under HB 90 can I force my school district to provide him with a program at his local school instead of bussing him to Seattle?

LLD Mother

Dear Mother:
Your child is being contracted for in Seattle Public Schools. Your school district has met its obligations by contracting with a neighboring school district (Seattle). Why not join with other parents of similar need and help develop an LLD Program at the secondary level in your district? Be grateful that your child has been in school now start working for a better program.

Janet

Senator MONDALE. The committee is in recess.

[Whereupon, at 12:45 p.m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene subject to the call of the Chair.]

APPENDIX

Item A

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JESSIE BERNARD, PH. D., SOCIOLOGIST, WASHINGTON, D.C.

My name is Jessie Bernard. I am a sociologist. I taught for many years at the Pennsylvania State University. I have written extensively in the area of the family and I am currently engaged in writing a book on the future of motherhood.

In considering the impact of legislation on the family I would like to emphasize the importance of including the impact of such legislation on fathers. I am not here referring to the situation in which fathers desert, a topic I do not mean to minimize, but one which we are all-too-well aware of and to which many talented people are devoting their attention. I would like rather to call attention to the millions of fathers who, though they do not physically desert their families nevertheless, in effect, renege on their contribution to child rearing. They far outnumber the deserting fathers.

It is all too easy for us to see the mote in the other person's eye and not the beam in our own. I respectfully call attention here to the families of men in this very Congress, in our industries, in our universities and colleges. I call attention, in fact, to most fathers in this country. Their contribution to the rearing of their children is minimal.

The trend of the times is in the direction of greater sharing of the child-rearing function by both parents. Interviews with young women of both college [1] and high school [2] age report them as looking forward to marrying men who will be willing to assume their share of the responsibility of parenthood. Young men are also showing willingness to do so. In one study [3] as many as a third of the young men studied were "highly positive" to the idea not only of having children but also of rearing them. Anything that involves fathers in child rearing should be encouraged.

The kinds of legislation relevant in this matter would perhaps be largely those dealing with hours of labor and educational curricula. But anything that broke down the restraints imposed by unrealistic role stereotypes could be helpful in making it possible for fathers to participate more in child-rearing.

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[1] Shirley Angrist and Elizabeth Almquist, Carnegie-Mellon University.
[2] Eleanor Thompson, Montgomery County.
[3] Bernice Lott, University of Rhode Island.

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Item B

DOES MIGRATION INTERFERE WITH THE PROGRESS OF CHILDREN IN SCHOOL?

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by

Larry H. Long
Population Division
Bureau of the Census
Washington, D. C. 20233

Prepared for:

1973 annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, August 27-30, New York City

DOES MIGRATION INTERFERE WITH THE PROGRESS OF CHILDREN IN SCHOOL?

Abstract

Evidence is presented showing that frequent moving impedes progress in school for children whose parents are not college graduates. For children of college graduates frequent moving does not seem to hinder normal progress through the school system but has other undesirable effects. Nevertheless, children who have made several interstate moves are less likely to be behind in school than less mobile children simply because frequent interstate migration is most likely to characterize well-educated parents and well-educated parents tend to have children who do well in school. The predominance of the well-educated among long-distance movers is emphasized and offered as partial explanation of why growing communities tend to have children of above average scholastic ability.

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DOES MIGRATION INTERFERE WITH THE PROGRESS OF CHILDREN IN SCHOOL?

The question posed by the title of this paper is frequently raised in popular discourse and in the absence of definitive studies is most often answered in the affirmative. The answer to the question has important implications not only for families and children but for society as a whole. In fact, there are important implications for all geographical areas gaining or losing population as a result of migration. Both the micro-level and macro-level consequences of the question are explored in this paper.

The reasons for thinking that migration interferes with the normal progress of children in school are not hard to identify. Moving obviously requires that a child adjust to different schools, teachers, and curricula, and because of those differences, a child who moves to a new school may find that he is required to review on his own new material back to the first of the school year. Thus, a child who has moved may find that regardless of his previous progress, he is asked to "catch up" with what the students in the new school have been studying. Even a student who is ahead of his new classmates in some subjects will quite likely be behind in others, at least according to the curriculum of the school to which he has moved. Overall, children moving to new schools probably find such experiences frustrating and perplexing, and many will be unable to make the necessary adjustment by the time of final exams.

In addition, children who move are forced to leave behind old friends and must make new ones at the new school, thereby having to make social adjustments at the same time as academic adjustments. Any personal problems that result from difficulties in making new friends may result in decreased levels of performance and achievement in school subjects.

On the other hand, some children may find moving to be a stimulating experience. A child who is having problems in his old school will probably have problems in the new school, but some may not; some children may find that moving gives them a chance to start over in a new and possibly better school--a particularly important consideration when the move is from a poor to a good school district. Also, merely the act of moving may broaden a child's horizons, stimulating his interests by exposing him to different regions of the country. Furthermore, good students may find that different teaching methods and curricula actually broaden their outlook, providing interesting new perspectives.

In spite of these possibly beneficial effects, the general feeling is that migration tends to interfere with the progress of children in school. Wolfle, a manpower specialist, notes the crucial importance of migration in effectively utilizing and redistributing the nation's labor force. While migration is frequently beneficial for the head of the household (often bringing a promotion or increase in income), there are certain costs that are difficult to count. According to

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Wolfle (1971:151):

> Members of the family of a highly [geographically] mobile man often pay a price for his mobility. The costs to his children are hard to count, but frequent moves may well interfere with their personal and educational development.

These costs seldom enter into the calculation of the "costs and returns of human migration."

The absence of good data on the consequences of the mobility of school children was noted in a recent publication of the Office of Education. According to the report (1971:1), the mobility of children between schools has been a "phenomenon generally neglected in educational statistics, in State or Federal financial assistance formulas, and in curriculum designs." And Vance Packard, whose most recent book is on the consequences of the geographical mobility of the American population, observes (1972:252) that "The possible negative impact of frequent moving on the mental health of children remains to be tested and pinpointed by anything resembling an impressive body of studies."

DATA FROM THE 1970 CENSUS OF POPULATION

Several tabulations from the 1970 census of population were designed explicitly for the purpose of providing a test of the possible effects of migration on the progress of children in school. The census schedule obtained information on school enrollment and current grade. For children in school, grade of enrollment (as of the census date--

April 1, 1970) was compared with age (adjusted back to the fall of the school year--October 1, 1969) to see if the child was in the grade appropriate for his age. The following schedule of ages and modal grades was taken as the norm:

Age (Oct. 1, 1969)	Modal grade of enrollment
6	1
7	2
8	3
9	4
10	5
.	.
.	.
.	.
17	12

Enrollment below the modal grade was taken as evidence that a child was behind his age peers and enrollment above the mode was taken as evidence of the child's being ahead of his age peers. This procedure for measuring progress in school represents a slight modification and refinement of that developed by Nam for the 1960 census (see Folger and Nam, 1967) and used by subsequent researchers (Conlisk, 1969; Masters, 1969). A similar procedure is used in the Census Bureau's annual report on characteristics of students (see U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1972:table 17).

Following the adoption of this scheme for measuring progress in school, the next question involved devising an appropriate indicator of migration. It was noted that the census collected information on state of residence at three points in time: birth, 1965, and 1970.

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Thus, some children would be living in their state of birth in both 1965 and 1970 and thereby indicate a relatively high degree of residential stability, giving evidence of having lived in only one state. At the opposite extreme were children who by 1965 had moved out of their state of birth and by 1970 had moved to still another state; these children had lived in at least three states during their lifetime. Between these two extremes were children who had apparently lived in two states.

This indicator of frequency of migration is admittedly crude, but it is the best available. Such an indicator understates the actual amount of migration. Intrastate migration is ignored entirely, and the number of interstate moves is understated. For example, some people could have made several interstate moves between birth and 1965, but only one move would have been counted. Similarly, some people could have moved more than once between 1965 and 1970 but only one move would have been counted. The utility of this classification--as with any classification--depends on whether it produces meaningful results.

Progress in school (whether at the modal grade or above or below) was then tabulated according to number of states lived in by children 8 through 17 years of age. This information is given in Table 1. The tabulation also shows whether or not the child was living with both parents, since it is known that children in broken homes are more likely to be behind in school than children in intact families (Folger and Nam 1967:55). Also shown in Table 1 is the percent enrolled.

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At first glance, the data appear to contradict the hypothesis that frequent moving interferes with the normal progress of children in school. In fact, precisely the opposite is shown to be the case. Column 3 of Table 1 shows that the children who are least likely to be behind are those who show evidence of the greatest amount of movement. In every comparison the children who have lived in three or more states are less likely to be enrolled below the modal grade than children who have lived in only one or two states.

As an example, consider children 12 to 15 years old. These are children who should be in the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th grades and who are old enough for the effects of frequent migration to have cumulated during their school years but who are still too young to have dropped out of school. Among 12-to-15-year-olds who lived with both parents, 17.2 percent of those having lived in only one state are enrolled below the mode, while 16.9 percent of those having lived in two states are below the mode, and only 15.4 percent of those having lived in three or more states are below the mode. The same pattern holds for children at this age who do not live with both parents; the percent enrolled below the mode drops from 26.3 for those having lived in only one state to 20.7 for those who have lived in three or more states. These relationships are in direct contradiction to what was hypothesized.

Table 1. CHILDREN 8 TO 17 YEARS OLD--PERCENT ENROLLED IN SCHOOL AND PERCENT ENROLLED AT, ABOVE, AND BELOW MODAL GRADE FOR AGE, ACCORDING TO AGE, WHETHER LIVING WITH BOTH PARENTS, AND NUMBER OF STATES LIVED IN: APRIL 1970

	Total number (000's)	Percent enrolled	Percent of enrolled: Below mode for age	At mode for age	Above mode for age
LIVING WITH BOTH PARENTS					
Children 8 to 11 years old					
Lived in one state..............	10,275	98.2	14.4	69.6	16.1
Lived in two states.............	1,951	98.4	14.6	70.6	14.8
Lived in three or more states...	372	99.0	13.2	72.7	14.1
Children 12 to 15 years old					
Lived in one state..............	9,887	97.5	17.3	66.3	16.4
Lived in two states.............	2,051	97.8	16.9	67.6	15.5
Lived in three or more states...	327	98.3	15.4	70.1	14.5
Children 16 and 17 years old					
Lived in one state..............	3,296	92.8	18.9	69.4	11.7
Lived in two states.............	704	93.3	18.5	70.3	11.2
Lived in three or more states...	91	94.5	16.8	72.5	10.8
OTHER CHILDREN IN FAMILIES					
Children 8 to 11 years old					
Lived in one state..............	1,833	95.6	20.6	59.5	19.9
Lived in two states.............	370	94.8	19.6	62.8	17.6
Lived in three or more states...	53	95.4	17.0	66.1	16.9
Children 12 to 15 years old					
Lived in one state..............	1,967	94.0	26.3	56.0	17.7
Lived in two states.............	448	93.5	24.3	58.7	17.0
Lived in three or more states...	50	94.6	20.7	62.2	17.1
Children 16 and 17 years old					
Lived in one state..............	1,755	81.9	21.5	65.5	13.0
Lived in two states.............	393	82.3	20.8	66.7	12.5
Lived in three or more states...	39	83.9	18.7	70.2	11.2

Source: 1970 Census of Population, Lifetime and Recent Migration, Table 6.

Nevertheless, one should not reject the conventional hypothesis. The data in Table 1 can be misleading because there are no controls for socioeconomic status. It is known that well-educated persons have the greatest propensity toward long-distance moving (Long,1973), and well-educated parents tend to have children who do well in school. Thus, it is possible that the better-than-expected performance of the children who have lived in three or more states can be accounted for entirely by the fact that they are most likely to have parents of high educational attainment. The next step was to see if indeed this was the case.

For children living with both parents (the top panel of Table 1), an additional tabulation was made to show father's educational attainment as well as number of states lived in. This information is given in Table 2. The top panel of Table 2 shows the percent of children enrolled below the mode, and the bottom panel shows the percent enrolled above the mode.

Table 2. CHILDREN 8 TO 17 YEARS OLD LIVING WITH BOTH PARENTS--PERCENT ENROLLED BELOW MODAL GRADE FOR AGE AND PERCENT ENROLLED ABOVE MODAL GRADE FOR AGE, ACCORDING TO AGE, FATHER'S EDUCATION, AND NUMBER OF STATES LIVED IN: APRIL 1970

	Father not a high school graduate	Father a high school graduate	Father with one to three years of college	Father with four or more years of college
	PERCENT OF CHILDREN ENROLLED BELOW MODE FOR AGE			
Children 8 to 11 years old				
Lived in one state..............	20.7	11.2	9.5	6.9
Lived in two states.............	24.2	13.9	10.8	6.6
Lived in three or more states...	24.8	15.9	10.9	6.8
Children 12 to 15 years old				
Lived in one state..............	24.3	12.3	10.4	7.5
Lived in two states.............	27.8	15.2	11.8	7.4
Lived in three or more states...	29.0	18.0	13.6	7.7
Children 16 and 17 years old				
Lived in one state..............	26.4	13.8	12.3	9.0
Lived in two states.............	29.6	16.4	14.0	9.2
Lived in three or more states...	29.9	19.6	15.3	10.3
	PERCENT OF CHILDREN ENROLLED ABOVE MODE FOR AGE			
Children 8 to 11 years old				
Lived in one state..............	15.8	15.9	16.3	17.1
Lived in two states.............	13.3	14.4	15.6	16.3
Lived in three or more states...	11.9	12.8	14.9	15.8
Children 12 to 15 years old				
Lived in one state..............	14.9	17.0	17.9	18.8
Lived in two states.............	13.1	15.5	16.5	18.1
Lived in three or more states...	11.4	13.1	15.2	16.8
Children 16 and 17 years old				
Lived in one state..............	10.4	12.3	13.1	13.9
Lived in two states.............	9.3	11.3	12.1	13.1
Lived in three or more states...	8.1	9.8	10.6	12.6

Source: 1970 Census of Population, Lifetime and Recent Migration, Table 6.

Except for children of college graduates, the conventional hypothesis is consistently supported by the data in Table 2, for increasing frequency of migration is associated with a greater likelihood of being enrolled below the mode. As an example, again consider the 12-to15-year-olds. Among children at this age whose fathers had not completed high school, 24.3 percent of those having lived in only one state were below the mode, compared to 27.8 percent of those having lived in two states and 29.0 percent of those having lived in three or more states. Similarly, among 12-to-15-year-old children whose fathers had completed high school (but had gone no further) the percent below the mode increases from 12.3 to 18.0 with increasing frequency of move. Among children whose fathers had completed one to three years of college, the percent below the mode increases from 10.4 to 13.6 with increasing frequency of move. But for children whose fathers were college graduates, increasing frequency of move does not appear to be consistently associated with a greater likelihood of being enrolled below the mode.

Table 2 shows that not only does frequent moving increase the likelihood that a child will fall behind in school, but it decreases the likelihood that a child will be able to skip a grade in school. In every case, the percent of children enrolled above the mode decreases with increasing frequency of interstate migration.

It is interesting to note in Table 2 that the percent of children below the mode demonstrates much greater variability according to father's education than does the percent above the mode. The likelihood of being enrolled below the mode is consistently about three times as great for children whose fathers did not graduate from high school as for children whose fathers were college graduates. In contrast, the percent of children who have skipped a grade shows very little variation according to father's education, the children of college graduates being only a few percentage points more likely to be enrolled above the mode than children whose fathers failed to complete high school.

In every case, however, increasing education of the father is associated with an increased likelihood of children being enrolled above the mode. But it is important to note the ways in which these "advantages" of having a well-educated father can be partially nullified by frequent migration. Look first at children 6 to 11 years old enrolled above the mode, shown in Table 2. Among children of high school graduates, the percent enrolled above the mode is 15.9 for those who have lived in only one state. Interestingly, this percent is very nearly the same as the percent (15.6) above the mode for children with fathers having one to three years of college but who have lived in two states. And finally, this percent, in turn, is very nearly the same as the percent (15.[illegible]) above the mode for children with fathers having four or more years of college but who had lived in three or more states. The same pattern of similarities is noted at ages 12 to 15 and 16 and 17.

The point here is that the children of college graduates who have lived in three states are no more likely to be ahead in school than children of men with one to three years of college but who lived in only two states and children of men who completed only high school but who lived in just one state. In other words, increasing frequency of migration could completely eliminate the "advantage" of having a father who was a college graduate insofar as skipping a grade is concerned. In this way, therefore, it appears that for children of college graduates the most important effects of frequent movement are not associated with failure to make normal progress in school but a loss of some of the ability to make above average progress.

It should be emphasized that while the effects of migration on children's progress are clear-cut, they are much less important than certain other variables. It is obvious in Table 2 that education of the parents has a much more important effect on the progress of children in school than does migration, at least according to the indicator of migration used here. Additional effects are exercised by the degree of family stability, and other variables not identified in this study seem likely to influence children's progress in school at least as much as does migration.

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MIGRATION DIFFERENTIALS ACCORDING TO EDUCATION

The preceding section showed that children who had made frequent interstate moVes were less likely to be behind in school than their more residentially stable age peers simply because the frequent movers were more likely to be the children of well-educated parents. This fact may be difficult to grasp because the predominance of the well-educated among long-distance movers is not generally recognized. In order to illustrate this point and as an introduction to the macro-level consequences of the above findings, Table 3 was constructed to show one-year rates of moving between counties and states according to educational level for men 25-29, 30-34, and 35-44 years old. These ages include a great many of the fathers whose movement is being reflected in Table 2.

Table 3 also transforms these age- and education-specific rates of migration into the number of years with moves between counties and states that a person can expect during the rest of his life. The values in the last two columns show the number of moves between counties and states that a man at successive ages can anticipate if during the remainder of his life he is subject to moving according to the currently existing rates for his level of education. The demographic methodology behind such calculations is described more fully by Wilber (1963). It should be noted that the expected years with moves between counties and states are averages, and therefore some men will in fact move much more frequently and others much less frequently than the average.

Table 3. MEN 25 TO 29, 30 TO 34, AND 35 TO 44 YEARS OLD—ONE-YEAR RATES OF MOVING BETWEEN COUNTIES AND STATES AND EXPECTED YEARS WITH SUCH MOVES DURING REMAINING LIFETIME, ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION: 1966-71

	Number (000's)	Percent moving between counties	Percent moving between states	Expected years with moves during remaining lifetime: Between counties	Between states
Men 25 to 29 years old					
Less than 8 years of school...	1,736	11.9	5.2	2.17	0.90
8 years........................	1,876	12.6	5.7	2.29	0.88
9 to 11 years..................	5,719	11.6	5.2	2.08	0.92
12 years.......................	14,844	10.7	5.2	2.17	1.01
13 to 15 years.................	5,758	13.0	6.9	2.80	1.39
16 years.......................	3,888	20.5	11.3	3.43	1.92
17 or more years..............	2,972	23.9	15.6	3.80	2.30
Men 30 to 34 years old					
Less than 8 years of school...	2,369	7.4	3.1	1.60	0.65
8 years........................	2,038	9.1	3.3	1.68	0.61
9 to 11 years..................	5,318	7.5	3.7	1.51	0.67
12 years.......................	12,363	7.9	3.6	1.65	0.75
13 to 15 years.................	4,163	10.1	5.4	2.17	1.06
16 years.......................	3,527	12.7	6.8	2.44	1.37
17 or more years..............	2,689	13.6	7.5	2.64	1.54
Men 35 to 44 years old					
Less than 8 years of school...	7,237	5.1	2.0	1.24	0.50
8 years........................	6,615	4.6	2.0	1.24	0.45
9 to 11 years..................	12,242	4.8	2.1	1.15	0.49
12 years.......................	23,095	5.3	2.7	1.27	0.58
13 to 15 years.................	7,517	7.5	3.9	1.68	0.80
16 years.......................	6,453	7.7	4.6	1.82	1.05
17 or more years..............	5,189	9.0	5.4	1.98	1.17

Source: Special tabulations from Current Population Surveys, 1966-71

In Table 3 note first that the propensity to migrate does not vary a great deal until college attendance is involved. Among men 25-29 years old, only about 11 percent of those with less than a high school education move between counties in a year's time. But with increasing levels of education beyond high school, the percent moving between counties rises rapidly, reaching nearly 24 percent for men with graduate-school training. At this age, therefore, the intercounty migration differences between the well-educated and the poorly-educated are two to one.

When moves of longer distance are considered, the differences are even greater. Just over five percent of men 25-29 years old with less than a high school education move between states in a year's time, but over 15 percent of men at this age with a graduate-school education move between states. Thus, interstate migration differences according to education are three to one at the 25-29 age group.

At later ages these differences are somewhat less, but throughout life the well-educated are much more predisposed toward long distance migration than the poorly educated. The last column of Table 3 shows the expected years with moves between states for men at each of the age groups and educational levels. For 25-year-old men with less than a high school education the values are less than 1.00, indicating that these men could, on the average, expect to spend the rest of their lives in the state where they were currently residing. In contrast, the value for a 25-year-old man with graduate-school training is shown to be 2.30, meaning that these men could, on the average, expect more than two interstate moves during the remainder of their lifetime.

Such vast differences in migration expectations make more understandable the micro-level consequences revealed in the preceding section. The fact that having moved between states at least twice is associated with falling behind in school for children whose fathers were not high school graduates (Table 2) becomes more understandable when one considers that on the average these children had fathers with a mathematical expectation of *no* interstate moves during the rest of their lifetime (Table 3). Similarly, the fact that having moved between states at least twice is *not* clearly associated with falling behind in school for children whose fathers were college graduates (Table 2) becomes more understandable when one considers that on the average these children had fathers who could expect at least two moves between states during their remaining lifetime (Table 3).

The point here is that parents who are not college graduates tend to have relatively little exposure to long distance movement as children and little expectation of making such moves as adults. When such moves are nonetheless made, they tend to be disruptive, interfering with the children's normal progress in school. In contrast, parents who are college graduates tend to have greater exposure to long distance moving, arising not only out of their own experience of going away to college but from the fact that their parents were likely to be college graduates who moved their families over long distances. Thus, the children of college graduates are born into families with past exposure to interstate migration and an expectation of future interstate moves, with the result that when such moves occur, they tend not to interfere unduly with normal progress of the children in school.

SOCIETAL CONSEQUENCES OF MIGRATION DIFFERENTIALS

Several macro-level consequences follow from the preceding findings. Since well-educated people are more predisposed toward migration and tend to have children who do well in school, one is led to conclude that, other things being equal, communities with a high proportion of in-migrants consist of children of above average scholastic ability. And since migration tends to be a more important component of variation in local growth rates than natural increase (the excess of births over deaths), then one expects to find that communities experiencing above average rates of population growth to consist of children of above average scholastic ability. Conversely, communities experiencing population loss should consist of children of below-average scholastic ability.

Fortunately, data recently made available by the National Center for Health Statistics provide a test of the above suppositions. During the period 1963-65, the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children and the Wide Range Achievement Test were administered to a nationwide representative sample of children 6 to 11 years old (National Center for Health Statistics, 1971a and 1971b). These tests provide widely accepted (though somewhat controversial) measures of IQ and achievement in basic reading and arithmetic skills.

Scores on these tests were cross-tabulated against a number of characteristics of the child (sex, race, region, etc.) and of his parents (education, income, etc.). In addition, some of the tabulations showed population change in the place of residence during the preceding decade (1950-60). "Place of residence" referred to the Primary Sampling Units (PSU's) from which the households were selected for inclusion in the sample. PSU's represent either a single metropolitan area or group of nonmetropolitan counties.

The rate of population change for each PSU during the preceding decade was then classified as being negative (loss of population), below average growth, average growth, or above average growth with respect to population change in the region to which the PSU belonged. These data are presented in Table 4.

From this table one can see that children in communities experiencing population loss consistently scored lowest in terms of IQ, while those in communities experiencing above average gain in population consistently scored highest. The children in declining communities tended to score around 98, while those in communities growing at above average rates scored around 104--a difference of about four-tenths of a standard deviation. Similar differences prevail when one considers the achievement test scores, with children in declining areas scoring lowest in both reading and arithmetic skills and children in areas experiencing above-average gains scoring highest.

Table 4. CHILDREN 6 TO 11 YEARS OLD IN SCHOOL--IQ AND SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT SCORES, ACCORDING TO 1950-60 POPULATION CHANGE IN PLACE OF RESIDENCE: 1963-65

	Rate of population change:			
	Loss	Below average gain	Average gain	Above average gain
	IQ SCORE (WECHSLER INTELLIGENCE SCALE)			
6 years old............	98.9	99.3	98.2	104.8
7 years old............	98.5	99.5	98.3	104.4
8 years old............	99.2	98.4	98.5	103.8
9 years old............	97.4	100.4	98.6	104.5
10 years old...........	97.8	100.6	96.5	105.4
11 years old...........	96.7	100.3	98.1	105.6
	READING RAW SCORE ON WIDE RANGE ACHIEVEMENT TEST			
6 years old............	24.1	26.0	26.2	26.7
7 years old............	39.2	41.2	41.8	43.5
8 years old............	51.3	52.4	51.9	53.7
9 years old............	55.4	59.8	58.9	60.7
10 years old...........	62.2	64.7	63.2	67.3
11 years old...........	66.2	69.9	69.2	72.5
	ARITHMETIC RAW SCORE ON WIDE RANGE ACHIEVEMENT TEST			
6 years old............	16.4	16.5	16.9	17.9
7 years old............	21.1	22.0	22.3	22.8
8 years old............	25.4	26.6	26.4	26.3
9 years old............	28.6	29.6	29.7	30.1
10 years old...........	31.9	33.3	32.7	33.8
11 years old...........	36.3	37.3	37.6	38.7

Source: National Center for Health Statistics, Intellectual Development of Children by Demographic and Socioeconomic Factors, Table 20; and School Achievement of Children by Demographic and Socioeconomic Factors, Table 23.

These differences (particularly those involving IQ) seem quite substantial. The explanation offered by the National Center for Health Statistics (1971b:7-9, and compare 1971a:12) is as follows:

> Places in which there is an above-average gain during the decade are more likely to have a healthy expanding economy, while those experiencing a loss would tend to be communities with diminishing employment opportunities and resources for development. It might be expected that this factor would in turn be reflected to some extent in the intellectual development of children residing in these areas.

It would seem, however, that somewhat more explanation is required than simply attributing the above average scholastic performance of children in communities experiencing above average growth to a "healthy expanding economy." Recent research stemming from the findings of the Coleman report and other studies have tended to downplay the role of schools *per se* in influencing the intellectual development of children and to emphasize instead the characteristics of the children themselves and their families. One of the most recent statements of the implications of these studies is given by Moynihan (1972). In view of this body of evidence and in view of the data in Tables 2 and 3 of this paper, one can suggest that the characteristics of in-migrants themselves (namely, the likelihood that they are of above average educational attainment) probably account for a large part of the above average scholastic performance of children in communities experiencing above average population growth.

There are obvious caveats in interpreting such statistics, and these should be clearly recognized. Extremely rapid population growth is almost certain to be associated with low levels of educational achievement. Extremely rapid growth is most likely to characterize "boom" towns or some type of frontier settlement--both of which are likely to have grossly inferior schools. There are no convenient guidelines as to where "healthy" growth ends and too rapid growth begins.

FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

This paper has established that children with a background of interstate migration are less likely to be behind in school than children who have spent their whole lives in one state--but only because the interstate movers were more likely to have well-educated parents. Controlling for education of parents reveals that long-distance moves do have a tendency to interfere with normal or above average progress of children in school, although less so for children of college graduates. It is important to note, in addition, that migration patterns of families reveal that parents act as if they felt that migration interfered with their children's progress in school.

When age of the family head is controlled, there are important migration differentials according to whether the children are of school age. Once the first child reaches school age, families become appreciably less likely to make either short- or long-distance moves. As additional children reach school age, there are further declines in moving--but typically less than the decline associated with the enrollment of the first child in school (Long, 1972).

The explanation as to why families with school-age children are less residentially mobile than families without school-age children is probably simply that the children don't want to move because they have formed friendships in school and the parents have probably formed friendships based on the activities of their school-age children (e.g., the PTA, Little League, etc.). For whatever the reason, age of children (whether of school age or not) represents an important determinant of the migration of families. The influence of age of children is independent of the age of the family head and is greater than the influence of number of children (Long, 1972).

The finding that families become reluctant to move either short or long distances once the first child is enrolled in school has an implication that deserves mention here. It is sometimes alleged that unequal educational expenditures across school districts influence either the decision to move or the choice of destination once a family has decided to move. Moynihan, for example, observes (1972:88) that "An argument could be made that present arrangements make for a certain amount of diversity and local option, with the result that parents who 'care' about education can 'buy' more of it by moving into selected school districts."

Actually, there is no conclusive evidence as to whether variations in the quality of schools influence the moving decisions of families. Nevertheless, in view of the reluctance of families with school-age children to move, whatever effect that is exercised in this regard almost certainly has its greatest influence on families whose children are all of preschool age. In fact, any policy aimed at influencing the mobility decisions of families is most likely to have greatest impact where mobility is greatest--namely, among families with a young head, with a high level of education, and with no children in school.

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Item C

EXCERPT FROM WORK IN AMERICA

Report of a Special Task Force to the
Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare

December 1972

6
FEDERAL WORK STRATEGIES

Federal activities are deeply enmeshed in the world of work, both directly and indirectly. Federal programs support the training of people for specific careers—in health professions, teaching, scientific research, and the like; Federal spending encourages the growth of certain industries and occupations; and, to mention only one other instance, national military service removes some young people from the labor market, training them for many occupations, and returns others in mid-career through early retirement. A systematic review of Federal policies and programs affecting work—which we shall not undertake here—would reveal the Government's deep penetration into the factors determining the quantity of jobs, and no small incursion into the factors determining their quality.

Our venture, in this report, into Federal policies and strategies on work is inescapably determined by conclusions reached earlier: that the health of workers is influenced by the quantity and quality of work, that a large number of problems with which HEW contends very likely arise because of insufficient employment opportunities, and that many of the potential improvements that could be made in the quality of work depend in part on an abundance of work.

We also felt it would be remiss, if not irresponsible, merely to call for more jobs without facing up squarely to one of the most difficult economic problems of today—the trade-off between inflation and unemployment. Accordingly, we have tried to show in this chapter how several work policies, if pursued, would have a dampening effect on inflation, which would permit a much greater effort in the private and public sectors to expand employment opportunities without the inflationary dangers that prevail today.

Furthermore, although it is clearly the case that the *sine qua non* of job satisfaction is the possession of a job, the creation of dissatisfying jobs would be an inadequate response to the problems of unemployment. A primary public policy position advanced here, in recognition of the foregoing, is that the quality considerations that play a role in the *redesign* of jobs and in the retraining of workers must go hand in hand with the quantity issues in a comprehensive approach to *creating* jobs. That this important relationship is not self-evident is, in part, a result of the way in which we have thought about work in the past.

We have tended to develop shifting and contradictory responses to the problems of work, in part because we have lacked a full enough understanding of the meaning of work in our lives. Public assistance programs present an example of this confusion: while they were designed as income maintenance programs for those who could not work, in recent years they have become entwined with employment and manpower programs.[1] Because of this shift, we have begun to look to work as the solution to our welfare "mess." Work *is* the key to ending dependency, but as we shall illustrate in this chapter, we may have put that key in the wrong lock. Rhetorically, and often administratively, the nation has demanded that those on welfare take jobs. Forcing these people to work would not end dependency since about ninety-five percent of those receiving welfare benefits are women with children. They are on welfare precisely because they cannot work or do not have a husband to support them. But a great part of this welfare "mess" might be straightened out if we were to provide steady jobs for the millions of fathers of welfare children, whether or not they are currently living in the same household with their children. These underemployed men need jobs in order that they may establish stable households. Work, then, offers a partial, preventive solution to the problem of dependency.

From the perspective of work, it would seem that welfare, manpower, and employment programs might be both more effective and more equitable if they were disaggregated. They should work in tandem, but each should do different things. Employment policies should aim at creating jobs for all of those who want to work. The existence of a job will be sufficient, in most cases, to get people to work; the importance of work to life obviates the need for compulsion.

There will remain some individuals, of course, for whom the availability of work is not enough, and they will need manpower training. Again, motivation, not coercion, should be sufficient to bring people into training programs. Finally, there will remain those who cannot work (primarily for physical reasons) and those who choose to care for their young children instead of taking jobs, and these people will require income maintenance assistance.

Such a work-oriented perspective of Federal programs establishes the primacy of employment policies, makes manpower training an essential but supportive function, and leaves income maintenance programs as a truly residual category, a fallback for family support. We shall now look briefly at some policy alternatives based on this construct.

Pursuing Full Employment

The statistical artifact of a "labor force" conceals the fluidity of the employment market and shifts attention from those who are not "workers"—the millions of people who are not in the "labor force" because they cannot find work. For example, in 1969, there were 92.5 million civilian men and women 16 years of age and older who had some kind of "work experience." But our "labor force" for the same year was reported as only 80.7 million.[2] Although this narrower concept of a "labor force" is useful for many economic indices, it is inadequate as a tool for creating employment policy. Its primary shortcoming is that it excludes from consideration the millions of people who answer "no" to the question "are you seeking work," but who would in fact desire a job if one were available and under reasonably satisfactory conditions. For example, the ranks of the "unemployed" would be swelled were we to include such individuals from the categories listed below:

—The millions of women who do not look for part- or full-time employment because they know it is not available at all, or unavailable under conditions that would enable them to discharge their family responsibilities

—The large numbers of younger and some older persons who are in school or in training programs because they have been unable to find suitable jobs

—Young women, for the most part in low-income families, who remain at home because they find it difficult to secure a suitable job

—Persons on welfare, many of whom are female heads of households, who cannot support their families by holding down the types of jobs available to them

—The many physically, mentally, and socially handicapped persons who cannot work, at least initially, except under sheltered conditions

—Prisoners and other people in institutions who are denied access to meaningful work

—Older persons who no longer seek jobs because they are not hired even though they might be able to work full-time or part-time, or trained to do so

—Large numbers of people who make a living in illicit or illegal work, in part because of their failure to find suitable legitimate employment. (One of the ironies of crime is that it keeps "unemployment" down.)[3]

It is significant that we have fallen short of "full employment" even while using a narrow definition of the worker that excludes the above categories of potential workers.

Inflation and Unemployment With the adoption in the early 1960's of a Keynesian approach to Federal economic policies it appeared that we were embarking on a path that would lead to "full employment." The concept of a balanced full employment budget was embraced and the encumbrance of a balanced budget was shorne. It became part of the conventional wisdom that what heretofore had been thought of as "structural" unemployment could be substantially reduced by the stimulation of aggregate demand (which was accomplished initially by a major tax cut, then by a rapid expansion of both domestic programs and defense expenditures). However, this particular rosebush contained two very sharp thorns. One was the fact that despite the low unemployment rates and concomitant economic growth, there were sizable subgroups of the population who were still bearing the disproportionate brunt of the remaining unemployment. These were largely the "disadvantaged" toward whom the attention of most Federal manpower policies were turned. These policies are discussed later in this chapter.

The other thorn was inflation. As we progressed through the mid-sixties, it became increasingly apparent that lower unemployment rates could be "bought" with the application of economic policy instruments only at the expense of increased inflation. The concept of the Phillips curve, which depicts a presumed inverse relationship between unemployment and inflation, became a standard part of every policymaker's vocabulary. Finally, in the late sixties, the Federal government concluded that the "costs" of inflation were too high (despite the benefits of low unemployment) and monetary and fiscal measures were employed to control inflation—in the process causing the unemployment rate to rise.

As a result of the economic experience of the last ten years there is a growing consensus among economists on the following:

—Even under the most favorable assumptions about a Phillips curve for this country, what empirical evidence there is suggests that the inflation-unemployment trade-off facing us using traditional economic weapons is highly unfavorable. The most optimistic estimates of economists indicate that a 4% rate of unemployment is attainable (and maintainable) only at the expense of an equal or greater rate of inflation

—Inflation is fueled by factors other than its relationship with unemployment. For example, if people *anticipate* inflation (whether or not it would naturally occur for structural reasons) they will demand salary increases that will lead to further inflation. This "inflation mentality" makes the trade-off between inflation and unemployment more adverse

—Our macroeconomic policy instruments as generally applied are fairly imprecise tools—we cannot have any confidence that their application will, in fact, enable us to achieve the lowest feasible rate of unemployment compatible with any given rate of inflation.

In view of these considerations, it is clear that a continuation of our present types of economic policies will not permit us to deal effectively with the employment problems that have been documented in this study. They may not even permit us to reduce drastically the 5 million plus who are presently classified as unemployed, much less provide large quantities of jobs for the 10 to 30 million who are underemployed, on welfare, or who are out of the labor market but would take a job.

But a policy that took into account the social and personal values of work might begin with the need to maintain what might be termed total employment—in which everyone who desires a job is able to find a reasonably satisfying one—as opposed to just "full employment" which is inadequate because it is a function of our current "labor force" participation rate. Such a policy that begins with the need to maintain total employment would *then* determine how to maintain price stability within that context.

Toward a Total Employment Strategy One could not expect the country to adopt a total employment policy overnight because the structural changes that this would require in the economy and society would be difficult to achieve.

However, we could make some marked strides in this direction in the near future. Following is an examination of some of the important elements of such an employment strategy, particularly as they relate to other policies recommended in this report.

A significant movement toward total employment for our economy means two things:
—The existence of considerably more employment opportunities (of a satisfactory nature) than now exist
—A distribution of job opportunities that will be more equitable for youth, the aged, women, and minorities.

Past experience indicates that the pursuit of the former will do much to achieve the latter—but not enough. Therefore, as long as we fall short of total employment, it will be necessary to some extent to focus job creation efforts on those demographic subgroups of the population that traditionally face employment difficulties.

In view of the adverse inflation-unemployment trade-off there are two main steps that the Federal government might take to ensure the existence of a greater number of, and more equitably distributed, employment opportunities:
—The initiation of largescale programs aimed at significantly improving the inflation-unemployment trade-off
—The simultaneous use of expansionary monetary and (selective) fiscal policies to maintain the maximum amount of employment consistent with "tolerable" rates of inflation. Fiscal policies would be selective in the sense that they would be designed to (1) have the least adverse impact on the inflation-unemployment situation and (2) create job opportunities that would result in a more equitable distribution of employment.

The first of the steps is the most difficult to develop. Despite the plethora of recent research on the subject of the inflation-unemployment relationship, not enough is known about it to give clear guidance to public policy. However, it is quite likely that several of the major policies suggested in this report for improving job satisfaction would also have a major impact on the problem of inflation. The basic Worker Self-Renewal program would remove hundreds of thousands of workers from the labor force who would otherwise have been underproductive. It would decrease unnecessary labor oversupply in declining industries and occupations by retraining workers for industries and occupations where they will be more productive and where critical manpower shortages might otherwise have created inflationary bottlenecks. Studies undertaken at the Urban Institute indicate that such a program would have a significant impact on the problem of inflation.[4] Similarly, the redesign of work, accompanied by profit sharing, has a high potential for increasing productivity—particularly through reductions in wasteful turnover and work stoppages. Other suggestions developed in the report could be expected to have lesser, but still important, effects on inflation. The reorganization of secondary education would increase the efficiency with which youth are able to move between school and work. Eliminating race and sex discrimination in the workplace would reduce the dispersion of unemployment rates in the economy, thus helping to reduce the rate of inflation associated with a given level of employment. Fuller portability and vesting of pensions would permit increased worker mobility, which should promote efficiency. And finally, some of the reforms of current manpower programs that are discussed later in this chapter could also have a favorable impact on the Phillips curve. One cannot predict the exact degree of change that would occur in the unemployment-inflation relationship as a result of any one of these actions, but taken together they appear to present a formidable arsenal in the war on inflation.

Pursuing such anti-inflationary policies would permit more expansionary use of traditional monetary and fiscal policies and, therefore, a higher level of employment than would otherwise be possible. Furthermore, maintaining full employment by stimulating aggregate demand will create an atmosphere that is more conducive to making many of the personal and organizational adjustments that are needed for the restructuring of work and upgrading of lower-skilled workers. But in order to obtain the greatest benefits possible from the job creation and redistribution of employment opportunities that arise from expansionary monetary and fiscal policies, it may be necessary to utilize the latter in a more selective fashion than we have previously. On the taxation side, this would argue in favor of such policies as:

—Employer tax-incentives for hiring, training, and upgrading workers from traditionally low-employment groups

—Greater tax breaks for low-income families and individuals (such as deductions for employment-necessitated child care, "forgiveness" of social security taxes, and lower marginal tax rates on earnings for those on welfare) to both encourage greater work effort and put more money (almost all of which would be used for consumption purposes) into low-income areas so it will create jobs where they are needed.

On the expenditure side this would argue for:

—A generous funding of the efforts suggested in this report that would have a favorable impact on the inflation-unemployment relationship

—A greater targeting of expenditures in general on purchases of goods and services that create relatively more jobs for the disadvantaged (e.g., regional development of Appalachia)

—A program of public service employment for those for whom this is the only alternative to dependency on the state. To the extent possible, this should involve filling existing vacancies—thus minimizing the adverse inflationary impact.

It should be noted that while in the short run these various anti-inflationary measures for job creation might require expansion in the Federal budget, in the longer run the increased employment should result in significant reductions in costs for welfare, unemployment compensation, manpower programs, crime protection and control, and social services. There will be less need for continued growth in these essentially compensatory programs if we have fuller employment.

Beyond the Problem of Inflation The policies we have discussed should have the effect of dampening the effect on inflation to a degree that would permit greater government stimulation of demand. In this way, most new jobs would be created in the private sector. But the use of expansionary fiscal policy to create jobs raises the important question of what kinds of jobs will be created. Because economic issues tend to monopolize discussions of job creation, this issue tends to take a back seat to the question of inflation. But, as a direct result of every expenditure it makes, the government creates jobs, and, therefore, we must ask what jobs we want done in the society, who we want to do them, and under what working conditions.

To begin, there are many jobs—obvious to the naked eye—that patently need doing, either for the survival or the improvement of our civilization: our cities need to be restored or rebuilt; our transportation systems are in disarray; our air, water, and land are fouled with pollution from coast to coast. In carrying out these activities, the government can choose to do those things itself or it can buy such public goods predominantly from *private* contractors. Because of budget constraints, the government cannot do all these things, even if all are beneficial for society. It must choose among these public goods. In so doing it can target its purchases in such a way that it can determine the kinds of *jobs* it is buying, because the population groups affected by expenditures varies greatly. This does not argue that we should buy things we do not need simply because they create the right kinds of jobs. Rather, in choosing among the tasks that need to be done we should attempt to maximize the quantity and quality of jobs we are buying with public dollars. For example, expenditures on space, research, higher education, and rural highways may have little significance for the traditionally unemployed, while purchases of urban development and pollution control should produce more jobs for these groups. The mix of skill levels required for different projects also varies greatly. Health care, space, and research stimulate those levels of jobs for which there is already considerable demand, but few blue-collar jobs are created. On the other hand, environmental protection programs in the area of water supply and sewage services are estimated to offer a job mix of 61% unskilled or semi-skilled blue-collar jobs, 26% skilled operators, and only 9.4% professional jobs.[5]

Where such expenditures are made also affects their impact. A maximum amount of jobs per public dollar would probably result from expenditures made by State and local governments (in large part funded by Federal revenue sharing or formula grants). On the average, a billion dollar investment at the Federal level creates 89,900 jobs while a similar investment creates 110,900 jobs if it is made at the State or local level.[6] Indeed, over the past decade the greatest rate of job growth in the *private* sector is attributable to State and local government purchases of goods and services: private sector employment that is directly attributable to such purchases increased by 58%, while total employment as a whole rose by only 19%.[7]

In this framework, "public-service" employment (usually called "leaf-raking") would be a misnomer. Many meaningful tasks serving public needs could be accomplished by the private sector. What must be recognized is that the private sector *can* provide satisfying work on public goods. An example of this might be made by a comparison of the garbage men of New York with the garbage men of San Francisco. In New York, where garbage men work for the city, and receive decent wages, they often go on strike, the service they deliver is generally regarded as poor, and the status of their job is low. In San Francisco, where the garbage men have formed private co-operatives and have high incomes, they never go on strike, the service they deliver is generally regarded as both cheap and excellent, and the status of their job is surprisingly high. It is not because they are involved in a private enterprise that the garbage man's lot in San Francisco is better than his peer's in New York, but the private sector employment allows for two things: greater participation in the management of the operation and participation in profits. Although one cannot draw strong conclusions from one example, the greater possibility of designing rewarding work in the private sector probably should not be discounted when choosing between direct government provision of services and buying such services from the private sector.

Another problem with the jobs we create through public expenditures is that they often do not reach the rural poor and those in the ghettos who need the employment the most. The response to this problem is complicated. First, government and private employers would probably have to address a whole range of options to deal with other sources of employment difficulties, including education, housing, transportation, and plant location, that might include:

—Adoption of educational policies at the local level to increase the employability of members of disadvantaged groups

—Expansion of on-the-job training

—Acceleration of the training, placement, and promotion of the disadvantaged

—Assumption of responsibility by employers for insuring that transportation systems link their establishments with lower-income neighborhoods. Alternatively, policies that influence the location and relocation of plants and offices, including industrial promotion and highway construction, could be designed to aid marginal workers.

These suggestions assume that fairly traditional measures can be utilized to overcome the employment difficulties of marginal workers. There are also less conventional alternatives. For example, it has been proposed that the Federal Government encourage large corporations to franchise personal services companies in the ghettos. Community groups or individuals could obtain such a franchise and the large corporation would handle the administrative and bonding problems, provide training and the capital needed to start the enterprise. These franchise companies could train teams of ghetto residents to provide such services as car and appliance repair and home cleaning and repair. In some cities, enterprising ghetto residents have already organized themselves into such teams to provide services for both ghetto and non-ghetto residents.

What probably prevents the natural spread of this idea is the shortage of business "know-how" and capital. Such a job creation program would answer the needs for more personal services (for example, it is nearly impossible for ghetto residents to get a plumber), for work under less structured conditions, for opportunities for community control of business, and for opportunities for underemployed ghetto residents.

This suggestion is not offered as a panacea. Rather, it is an imaginative alternative for providing meaningful work for the underemployed; there are undoubtedly other ideas that should be explored.

Self-Employment Another job creation strategy might be to encourage certain types of self-employment. We have seen that self-employment is the most satisfactory of all kinds of employment, and that the closing of most entrepreneurial options has exacerbated the feeling of workers that they are locked-in to their current jobs.

But there are many obstacles to self-employment today—one being that large institutions benefit from economies of scale and thus drive out small "inefficient" concerns. If we decide that job satisfaction and greater employment opportunities add to social efficiency, we might rewrite our tax laws to give the self-employed and small business proprietor a better chance to compete with larger institutions. At the Federal, State, and local level, this might require the exemption of certain categories of the self-employed and the smallest businesses (e.g., under ten employees) from certain licensing, insurance regulations, and expensive and time-consuming reporting to government agencies. Also, we might make more risk capital available through the Economic Development Administration and the Small Business Administration and through incentives to private investors. In the previous chapter of the report, for example, we suggest an educational method for encouraging self-employment. Many other ideas, no doubt, can be developed to support self-employment and small businesses.

Job Information Finally, there are those who claim that our unemployment problem would be eased considerably if we had an information system that provided workers and employers with increased knowledge about the supply and demand of labor and jobs. For workers at all levels, fate plays the greatest part in how jobs are obtained. People fall into jobs. They get jobs because they know somebody who knows somebody. Yet, few of us even know enough people to have more than a couple of options when we are seeking employment. At the lowest end of the occupational scale, one may have only one or two options among similar jobs. Most often, lower-level workers see no choice: a job is available and they take it without knowledge of any alternatives. This suggests that many people are in unsatisfactory jobs because of a dearth of information about their options. It also suggests that there may be—but this is not certain—a larger supply of unfilled jobs than we had supposed.

It is difficult to design a way of dealing with this information problem. As a start, the Labor Department has begun to install computerized "job banks." The success of their effort will depend on the willingness of employers to report job openings, something they are often reluctant to do, preferring instead "personal recommendations."

Whatever job creation options the government might pursue, it is important that the jobs that are created are meaningful.

Now we turn to the problem of workers who seem unable to attain or hold jobs even when they are available.

Manpower Training

The concentration of unemployment among minorities, youth, older persons, and those who live in rural areas was essentially unaltered by the economic expansion of the 1960's. The existence of these groups was considered a "structural" problem of the workforce—the abilities of these unemployed persons did not meet the demands of the labor market. The Government attempted to alleviate this "structural unemployment" with manpower development policies to supplement macroeconomic policy. The central issue was poverty amid affluence. Although cash grants to the poor would have been a more direct attack on poverty, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 reflected our national preference for work over non-work; accordingly, the law advocated training and education to improve the opportunity of poor people for employment.

Some Reasons for the Failure of Present Manpower Training Programs To be eligible for the bulk of our public manpower training programs, one must be "disadvantaged"—a poor person who does not have suitable employment, and who is either a high school drop-out, under 22 or over 45, handicapped, or subject to special obstacles to employment, such as racial discrimination. Other manpower training programs pinpoint specific groups facing barriers to employment: veterans, Indians, ex-prisoners, displaced workers, older persons, migrant workers, and so forth.

Most of these programs do not create permanent jobs, but attempt to "upgrade" the unemployed so they better fit some estimated demand for labor. Yet, evaluations of the MDTA, for example, indicate that such programs are not fully effective in producing trained individuals who, indeed, "fit" the characteristics of the demand for labor.[8] Similarly, under the Work

Incentive Program, of the 3 million welfare recipients who were eligible in 1971, only 300,000 received training, and placement rates for those who had gone through training never bettered 20%.

Such manpower policies and programs may be faulted on several other grounds.[9] First, assistance is fragmented into far too many categories. Some people who could be helped and who want to be helped are not because their "category" falls between administrative cracks. Others are confused by a bewildering array of programs with unclear and overlapping eligibility. Probably the most important factor in the success of a training program is the motivation of the enrollee, a factor too subtle for categorical eligibility standards. This suggests the need for a system based on motivation—one that would be a totally voluntary program. No one would be forced to enroll, but special access could still be assured the disadvantaged by assigning them some priority within a voluntary scheme. In addition, fragmentation makes efforts too diffuse to achieve the critical mass needed for impact, effectiveness, or public acceptance.

The second deficiency in our present manpower strategy is that it has become too entwined with income maintenance policies. Income programs were aimed at those who are poor because they are incapable of working. The categories of assistance have developed to give benefits to those who are unemployable for reasons beyond their control, and to exclude the "undeserving" who are thought to have some control over their employment status. In deference to the work ethic, and in part out of suspicion that some public assistance recipients might be able to work, the income programs have incorporated measures expressing a preference for work over welfare—in the treatment of outside income, in the rehabilitative social services accompanying assistance, and in work/training requirements. In the effort to get the poor to work, the welfare system has become a combination income maintenance and rehabilitation/manpower program.

At the same time, manpower programs have become, to a great extent, a part of the government's anti-poverty strategy. Eligibility for manpower programs is drawn from categories quite similar to those for income programs: the aged, the disabled, poor persons. Some manpower programs (WIN, special state employment services, Emergency Employment Act) are specifically designed to get people off welfare and into jobs.

The majority of these programs for the disadvantaged would undoubtedly be more effective if we distinguished between the purposes of the income maintenance and the manpower strategies. Income policy should strive for maintenance of some minimum standard of living. Its concern should be for anyone who is below that standard, for whatever reason he may be in need. But the thrust of the argument here is that a decent and satisfying job with adequate pay would be *the* work incentive, and none other would be required. Instead of building a welfare strategy with so-called work incentives, we need to have a work strategy which does not penalize people who want to work. If work itself were refurbished and made the incentive, neither coercion nor pressure on existing welfare recipients—who are in no position to resist—would be needed. Some people assume that if the income for maintaining a minimum standard of living were sufficiently high (whatever that may be), a significant portion of the population would withdraw from work. That may be true—but what evidence there is suggests that most people will prefer employment and self-sufficiency to unemployment and dependency. Work withdrawal on a significant scale may be more a theoretical than a *real* possibility and this mere possibility should not be permitted to deter us from the work-based strategy suggested here.

For many recipients, an income supplement will not be sufficient—they will need and want help in order to obtain work.

However, there is neither need nor rationale for separate manpower training for the very poor; rather, there is a need for manpower training for all, separate from the income maintenance system, in which welfare recipients can take part. One reason for this is that programs designed specifically for the poor seldom generate the broad public support needed for continued funding at a level high enough to have impact on the problem. Thus, programs for the poor quickly become poor programs. Also, the existence of a plethora of programs—for Indians, the aged, veterans, etc.—leads to unconstructive competition for funds.

Another argument against a link between manpower training and welfare programs is that their combination prevents us from designing each program optimally. For example, if it is decided that welfare mothers who do not work should forfeit their benefits, it becomes necessary not only to provide manpower training for them but also day care for their children. Since existing day care facilities are inadequate to meet the influx of thousands of welfare children, the government must then create a new, costly, federally sponsored and supervised industry. Thus, the decision to make welfare mothers work leads not only to the government impinging on the freedom of choice of mothers who would want to raise their children at home, but also to an obligation to provide a service that may have a low cost/benefit ratio. Furthermore, it hinders the rational design of a responsive system of *voluntary* day care for the children of working mothers.

It also is most important that manpower programs emphasize on-the-job training, rather than institutional training, for the former has proven more successful in placing enrollees in permanent jobs.[10] In addition, this approach would further the government's job creation strategy of stimulating and subsidizing private sector employment.

But even if these adjustments were made, there would still be left unattended the need to fit work to the workers, rather than the other way around. The lower down the scale of employability one descends, the greater the necessity to provide something akin to a "sheltered workshop" in order for these people to benefit from work. This is one reason why the National Alliance of Businessmen's "Jobs" program was far from a success. The hard-core unemployed failed to cope with the discipline of work as interpreted by mainstream culture, and when the economy turned sour, these marginal workers were the first to be laid off.

With respect to the problem of discipline, it is well known that many poor people have little or no work experience and, consequently, have high rates of absenteeism, tardiness, and other problems on the job. Many of the methods we suggest in Chapter 4 for making work schedules and work rules more flexible for workers in general, can be adapted to meet the needs of these "hard-core" unemployed. But a major limitation on a policy of expanding private or public jobs is that we may have a *dual* labor market—a theory that is not verified, but one that is nevertheless a useful tool for characterizing the employment problems of the very poor.

Dual Labor Market Most policy analyses of poverty and employment have tended to follow the classical economic approach of viewing labor as relatively homogeneous except for a hierarchy based on skill levels. Under this theory, the stimulation of the economy through traditional macroeconomic policy should create full employment. But the anomalies between this view and observed behavior in the labor market has led to the development of the dual labor market theory. Apparently, there may not be one, but rather two labor queues, and macro-policy often fails to generate jobs for those in the second queue. Michael Piore describes the dual labor market in the following terms:

> One sector of [the labor] market . . . the primary market, offers jobs which possess several of the following traits: high

> wages, good working conditions, employment stability and job security, equity and due process in the administration of work rules, and chances for advancement. The secondary sector has jobs that . . . tend to involve low wages, poor working conditions, considerable variability in employment, harsh and arbitrary discipline, and little opportunity to advance.
>
> The factors which generate the dual market structure and confine the poor to the secondary sector are complex. . . . the most important characteristic distinguishing primary from secondary jobs appears to be the behavioral requirements they impose upon the work force, particularly that of employment stability. Insofar as secondary workers are barred from primary employment by a real qualification [not race, sex, or ethnicity], it is generally their inability to show up for work regularly and on time. Secondary employers are far more tolerant of lateness and absenteeism, and many secondary jobs are of such short duration that these do not matter. Work skills, which receive considerable emphasis in most discussions of poverty and employment, do not appear a major barrier to primary employment (although, because regularity and punctuality are important to successful learning in school and on the job, such behavioral traits tend to be highly correlated with skills).[11]

Piore then goes on to describe the factors that generate the secondary labor market, draw the poor to it, and tend over time to lock in even the poor who initially had appropriate traits for the primary labor market. There are indications that Federal manpower programs are insensitive to the problems of the secondary labor market. Indeed, there is some evidence that the MDTA has made use of it as a source of jobs. One evaluation of the MDTA claims that it has chosen to train for jobs where openings occur because of high turnover, whether or not they are characterized by high demand.[12] Thus, instead of facilitating mobility, the manpower program may have recirculated the working poor among the secondary jobs that were, in part, responsible for their poverty. (An advantage of the Worker Self-Renewal programs that we described is that they would be particularly sensitive to the difference between the primary and secondary markets and would train workers specifically for jobs in the former.)

It would be a mistake to consider the secondary labor market as intrinsically bad. It fits the needs of the young who tend to be excluded from the primary labor market until they are in their twenties, and matches the preferred life style of those who don't want to be tied down to a job. However, it does not meet the needs of those who wish to establish a stable, economically secure family, as we illustrate in the next section.

Consequently, the following problem emerges with respect to expanding employment: If the expansion comes in the primary job market it may not appreciably benefit the unskilled, under-employed in the secondary labor market, nor those potential workers on welfare who generally possess secondary labor market characteristics. There is some mobility between the primary and secondary labor market and an opening up of the primary labor market would tend to increase this mobility. However, based upon the analysis of Piore and others, it appears much more likely that such expansion would result either in drawing more working-class or middle-class women (who have the required behavioral traits—or "adaptive skills") into the primary labor force or in redesigning primary jobs to have secondary characteristics.[13]

On the other hand, expansion of the secondary labor market does not solve the poverty problem for families and in addition tends not to reduce primary unemployment. Economically, but even more psychologically, many poor families need the rewards of primary employment.

Dual-labor-market economists suggest changes in manpower training and equal-opportunity law enforcement to aid the poor in finding primary employment. But their suggestions can only bear fruit if the total amount of primary employment expands.

In this report we discuss several options for retraining and for creating primary jobs. We feel that imaginative policies designed to tap the demonstrated desire of poor people to work will overcome many of the obstacles to employing them in the primary labor market. The fact that these people hold secondary jobs, if they hold any job at all, suggests that employment for them could be increased without significantly increasing inflation. One of the main causes of inflation is an excess demand for the highly skilled. By providing people in secondary jobs (or the unemployed) with the requisite skills, we can reduce this type of inflation by meeting the demand for skilled labor, thereby holding down its cost. Thus, there are potential benefits to employers and to society from developing meaningful manpower policies. The Urban Institute's study estimates that changes in our total concept of our manpower "system" (including improvements in the quality of jobs) would provide an annual increase in the GNP of $30 billion.[14]

As promising as such a conceptual change may seem, we must acknowledge its limitations. Some workers are either incapable or too accustomed to failure to learn a new skill. The question for them will be simply the availability of a job. In America, we like to think that all workers should be "mobile." The sad truth is that for some we can expect nothing more than low-level employment. The challenge here is not just for manpower training, but for the creation of jobs that are steady and pay a living wage—in short, some form of sheltered employment.

In summary, an effective manpower program would be one that is broad—encompassing all present categorical programs and more—and sufficiently flexible to be able to respond to diverse reasons for unemployment. Unencumbered by welfare considerations and unconstrained by categorical red tape, the manpower program should be able to train those who are employable but lack certain skills, create jobs for those who have adequate training but for whom there is no current demand, and provide such alternatives as sheltered workshops for those who are handicapped in ways that leave them unable to compete in the job market.

Such a program would do much to alleviate our welfare "mess" through providing decent jobs for central providers—who are not the prime recipients of welfare benefits—and through separating manpower requirements for welfare mothers from income maintenance programs. When welfare is examined through the lens of work, we can see the role that job creation and manpower policies can play in limiting dependency, and the legitimate burden of income maintenance that remains.

Work and Welfare

In original conception and intent, welfare is an income maintenance program for those who cannot take care of themselves. The main programs provide categorical aid to the blind, the aged, the disabled, and to families with dependent children (a program originally designed to make it possible for widows and mothers without employable husbands to stay at home and raise their children.)

Increasingly, however, the original purposes and definitions of welfare have lost their force, especially with respect to the Aid to Families with Dependent Children. What was originally defined as a population dependent on the larger community for maintenance and support tends now to be defined in the public's mind as a population of malingerers who ought to be forced to accept work. The result is that persons who cannot take jobs or, by social agreement, should not take jobs, are now the target of programs designed to make them take jobs.

This change in public perception and policy has two main roots. One is the frustration born of the now-certain knowledge that the need for a Federal public assistance program will always be with us and will not, as was originally hoped, wither away as a result of the growth of a comprehensive contributory social insurance system.[15] The other is the change from widows and orphans to unmarried mothers and illegitimate children as models or prototypes of the AFDC family.[16] ("The AFDC example always thought about," remembers the first Executive Secretary of the Social Security Board, "was the poor lady in West Virginia whose husband was killed in a mining accident, and the problem of how she could feed those kids.")[17] Where the original model of the miner's widow evoked compassion, the new model of the unwed mother evokes deep and widespread resentment.

Underneath the resentment and the frustration, and giving rise to them, are a host of unverified assumptions about the character and composition of the welfare population: most poor people don't want to work; most people on welfare are black; welfare mothers have babies to increase their welfare benefits; people on welfare live well and easy; most people on welfare want to be on welfare; etc.

Every one of these assumptions is demonstrably false as a generalization, and is true only in the occasional particular. The facts are that most poor people are not on welfare and the majority of poor people not only want to work but do work, year round and full time; black families, though over-represented, make up less than half of the AFDC caseload; the average monthly payment per recipient on AFDC is $49.60; most mothers on AFDC do want to work—it is not difficult to add to the factual side of this misunderstood issue.[18]

What is so terribly damaging to the prospect of developing constructive programs for dealing with the problems of welfare is that these false stereotypes of poor people, black people, and AFDC families are widely held by the general public. The negative attitudes of most Americans about welfare thus constrain national leaders in their development of policy. Indeed, the existence of these feelings leads to a situation in which the public's "price" for welfare reform is the inclusion of mandatory work requirements for those on welfare, including mothers.

The variety of recent attempts to reform the welfare system are characterized by the inclusion of mandatory work provisions. These reflect the public's belief that there are many people on welfare who don't belong there, who could and should be working, and that we can deal with "the welfare mess" by forcing these people off the rolls. Realistically, then, we cannot expect a welfare reform program that does not have a work requirement for mothers until there is general public agreement that the great majority of people on welfare belong there (in the sense that they have no other place to go). The only able-bodied adults on welfare are those on the AFDC rolls, but since less than 5 percent of the families receiving AFDC include an able-bodied man, the only category of recipients with any potential for joining the work force are women with dependent children, the very persons AFDC was designed to assist in staying home.

From the analysis we present in this section, the present public attitudes may very well lead to a worse welfare problem in the future. A welfare program with a compulsory work requirement for mothers will not help the mothers, the children, or the society at large, and, as we will discuss later, it will not enhance the all-important role of the central provider in establishing family stability. We believe that the alternative presented here, that of viewing mothers as working and of making jobs available for central providers, would better achieve the major objectives of the general public—a decreasing welfare caseload in the long run.

Should Welfare Mothers Be Required to Take a Job? The question of whether the mother in a fatherless family (76 percent of AFDC families)[19] should take a job or not is a complex one. It is not even clear that anyone other than the mother has the legal or moral right to make that decision, or that anyone other than the mother can make the decision that is best for her and her children. Some mothers prefer outside jobs to keeping house and raising children; others prefer to stay home. To force all AFDC mothers to do one or the other is to do violence to what we know about human development and family relationships: mothers who work because they prefer to work, and mothers who stay home because they prefer to stay home, probably make better and happier mothers (and children) than those who do one or the other because of circumstances or coercion.[20] It follows that the public interest and the interests of the mother and her children will be best served if the mother herself makes the choice. This choice, of course, must be essentially a free one: a decision either way must not carry with it any special penalties, rewards, or forfeitures.

The easiest part of the problem has to do with those women now on AFDC—perhaps a majority—who, other things being equal, would prefer to work and support their families. But other things are not equal. They do not take jobs because there aren't suitable child care facilities, or because the costs associated with having a job and paying for child care often leave them with less than they would be receiving on welfare. These women do not need to be coerced into the labor force; they need the freedom to join it: adequate child care facilities and a decent job at a living wage.[21]

The more difficult part of the problem lies with those AFDC mothers who choose to remain home and raise their children themselves. More accurately, the problem lies not with them but rather with our system of public values regarding women and women's roles and our definition of work. When we say to the AFDC mother, for example, "You must go to work or take work-training in order to be eligible for public assistance," we are, in effect, telling her that, from society's point of view, she is not now working, that keeping house and raising children are not socially useful, at least not as useful as "a job." But we are able to make this judgment of the AFDC mother who stays home and raises her children only because we make this same judgment of all housewives.

Thus, the public devaluation of keeping house and raising children is, for the AFDC mother, only a special case of the more general problem faced by women throughout our society. Indeed, it is one of the principal sources of the deep discontent experienced by women in all social classes. The failure of society to acknowledge housekeeping and child rearing as socially useful work on a par with paid employment makes it increasingly difficult for the married woman who is "just a housewife" to see herself as a valued contributor in the eyes of her family, her neighbors, and the larger society. The pressures generated by such social values tend to push women into the labor force in their search for recognition as full and valued participants in society. The result is that some women who would perhaps prefer to remain at home are, in effect, pushed into the labor force against their will.

It is with the AFDC mother who would prefer to stay home that the social undervaluing of housekeeping and child rearing appears in its clearest, most perfect form. In this case, it is precisely the social undervaluing of housekeeping and child rearing that provides the rationale for telling her that she must take a job to be eligible for welfare, and also for the notion that she is "getting something for doing nothing."

The clear fact is that keeping house and raising children is work—work that is, on the average, as difficult to do well and as useful to the larger society as almost any paid job involving the production of goods or services. The difficulty is not that most people don't believe this or accept it (we pay lip service to it all the time) but that, whatever our private and informal belief systems, we have not, as a society, acknowledged this fact in our public system of values and rewards. Such an acknowledgment might begin with simply counting housewives in the labor force, assigning a money value to their work and includinging it in the calculation of the gross national product, and including housewives in social security or other pension systems. The question arises, "if the housewife is to be considered 'employed,' who is her employer?" One answer might be, her husband's employer, for it is the wife's labor and her support that enables her husband to do whatever he does for the man or the firm he works for. In this case, the husband and the wife would be viewed as a production unit and money for the housewife's pension plan might take the form of a payroll tax paid by the employer or shared by him and his employees. In the case of widows or other husbandless women with dependent children who do not work outside the home, they, too, would be "covered" workers, self-employed, and pay their own retirement premiums out of their own resources or, if on welfare, out of their welfare checks. Alternatively, one might consider them simply public service workers and pay the premiums out of the general fund.

In either event, the choice confronting the AFDC mother would no longer be between taking a job or receiving no assistance (which is really no choice at all) but rather the choice between working at home, in her own house with her own children, or working outside the home. In the long run, such a change in the choice offered to welfare mothers would not only cost less, but it would also permit the welfare family to keep its self-respect and at the same time enlarge an important area of choice in our society.

How Work Is a Key to Ending Dependency But the more significant link between work and welfare is not with welfare recipients, most of whom are on the welfare roles precisely because they can't work, but rather with those men who are not themselves on welfare but whose wives and children are. The statistical magnitude of the problem is easy to state. In January 1971, there were 2,523,900 families on the AFDC rolls. The father was absent in 1,924,800 of the families (76 percent), mainly through divorce, separation, desertion, or never having been married to the mother.[22] Thus, there is a clear and striking relationship between family instability and poverty. But if family instability causes poverty, what causes family instability? Among the lower classes, at least, one of the main causes seems to be poverty, thus completing the circle and presenting an especially difficult problem because it feeds on itself.

If poverty is a cause of marital or family instability, it should not surprise us that marriages in lower-class families end in separation and divorce far more often than in higher-income families. In addition to breaking up for many of the same reasons that higher-income couples do, low-income husbands and wives also break up because they do not have enough money to maintain family life.

In general, rates of marital instability are roughly twice as high among laborers and service workers as among professionals, with the other occupations falling in between. In Jesse Bernard's study of the relative effects of income, education, and occupation, income was the most powerful correlate of marital instability.[23] Crucial to an understanding of dependency is the research finding that at the end of ten years of marriage, a woman married to a man with earnings in the poverty range is twice as likely to have lost her husband through divorce or desertion as is the woman whose husband earns the median income or more.[24]

Does this mean that, by itself, an income maintenance policy in dole form would solve the problem of destructively high rates of divorce and desertion among poor people? Probably not, although poor people would surely be less poor if they had more money and be better off for it. To see what direction national policy should take with respect to family instability among the poor, we must look more closely at the connection between low income and marital break-up.

What specifically, is the connection between a man with a wife and two children earning, say, $3,000–$4,000 a year and his leaving the family? By itself, a poverty income does not explain the break-up of the marriage. Something else must be going on and all the evidence points to the fact that this something else is that the man sees himself, in his own eyes and in the eyes of all those around him, as a failure—a failure as breadwinner, and therefore a failure as husband, father, and man. The inability to support one's family constitutes a daily, unremitting reminder of failure that is too much for most men in that position to endure and sooner or later they leave. And how much more biting this failure if the man is earning so little that, if he leaves, his wife and children then will be eligible for welfare and actually be better off—not worse.[25]

It is important for our understanding of how AFDC families are generated to keep in mind that although many woman-headed families are the direct product of the process outlined above, other woman-headed families have appeared not because these events actually occurred, but in anticipation of them or in dread of them. Thus, even before marriage, lower-class girls' involvement in sexual activity that leads to pregnancy and illegitimate births, or to forced marriages, often seems to arise from the girls' perceptions that their present and future prospects for a better life (dependent as they are on their mates' occupational prospects) are not good and they have little to lose by beginning a family early even if it is in a not fully respectable way. (This is not to say, however, that girls who become pregnant before marriage are necessarily choosing to have a child. Indeed, the very high rates of abortion for premarital pregnancies where abortion is freely available indicate that the pregnancies are overwhelmingly unwanted.)[26]

Frank Furstenberg, drawing on the work of several sociological studies, attributes the high rate of illegitimacy among poor people generally and blacks in particular to this same occupational uncertainty of the men.[27] Lee Rainwater found expectant mothers rejecting marriage if their sexual partners were unemployed or had poor occupational prospects.[28]

We have already seen how low income leads to the self-definition of failure of the husband and father during marriage. And, if he is slow to see his failure, the chances are that his wife will point it out. Since neither partner can properly carry out the job of wife/mother or husband/father on the available resources, the inducement for self- and other-blame is always present. The tension generated by chronic money shortages is raised to even higher levels if the husband also experiences intermittent or prolonged unemployment. There is always the question in everyone's mind that his being unemployed may be "his own fault." He is "surplus man" around the house, because the sharp division of labor in the lower-class family gives him a minimally active role in housekeeping and child-rearing, and because the wife feels he should be out working or looking for work. And since unemployment in low-income households is often a reality and always a prospect—or even if he works steadily, he may not be bringing home enough to live on—the man is constantly vulnerable to the definition, his own or others' or both, that something is wrong with him, that he does not want to work, or if he is working, that he is simply not worth enough to be paid a living wage.

Finally, after divorce or desertion, the man's poor job situation tends to retard second marriages and to lengthen the amount of time men and women spend in divorced status. Among middle-class women, divorces tend to be followed by remarriage relatively quickly, but equally lonely lower-class separated and divorced women are not so fortunate: they are more likely to take boyfriends. These relationships are often institutionalized in such a way that the boyfriend is included within the family in a quasi-father role. Many women on AFDC give serious consideration to the possibility of marrying their boyfriends—indeed, they are often pressed toward marriage by the boyfriend. But even when the boyfriend is earning more than the woman receives on AFDC, she must think in a very tough-minded way about her family's likely future within a new marriage compared to being on welfare. She knows that welfare, though inadequate, is a steady source of income. Her prospective husband's income, she has good reason to fear, is not likely to be as steady; or in the event that he seems to be a steady worker with a steady job, the chances are that they couldn't live on what he makes. She can marry her boyfriend and take her chances, knowing that it will be touch-and-go at best, or she can maintain the less-than-satisfactory boyfriend relationship as long as it will last, and count on her secure source of welfare income.

Policy Implications In summary, family and marital stability may be functions of many things, but economic sufficiency and the part played by the man in providing it is surely one of them. Piecing together the findings from 46 studies relating work experience and family life, Frank Furstenberg concludes that "economic uncertainty brought on by unemployment and marginal employment is a principal reason why family relations deteriorate." [29]

The implications of this conclusion for public policy are clear: If our society provided stable employment at above-poverty level wages for all men, and if all women could therefore look forward to marrying men who could serve them in the provider role and for whom they could serve in the homemaker role, then it is likely that fewer girls would become pregnant before marriage, that lower-class couples would marry at a somewhat later age, that relationships in lower-class marriages would be less tense, that fewer lower-class marriages would break up, and for those that did, remarriage would take place more quickly. All these tendencies would be strengthened if women, too, could readily find stable part- and full-time employment. (It should be noted that the work demands of women's liberation are essentially a middle-class phenomenon; among the lower-income classes, particularly among blacks, the crucial problems is work for the male.)[30]

Thus, the key to reducing familial dependency on the government lies in the opportunity for the central provider to work full-time at a living wage. The provision of this opportunity should be the first goal of public policy. Although a combination of income maintenance and work policies may be needed as a beginning step, it is unfortunate that so much of the reformist energies of the past decade or so have gone into the issue of guaranteed income and so little into the issue of guaranteed, rewarding work. It is difficult to avoid the impression that guaranteed income has been appealing both because it is simpler—one thing the Federal Government knows how to do easily and well is write checks—and perhaps because a guaranteed income program is less likely than a guaranteed job program to require or result in deep structural changes in the organization of work in our society. Another contributing factor may be that those who have been most vocal in their concern with problems of social welfare in recent times have tended to be identified with educational and welfare institutions rather than institutions more directly oriented to work and the labor market.

In any event, it is important to recognize the probability that an income maintenance program alone is not likely to do more—however crucial this "more" is—than keep families from living in utter degradation. Continued failure to provide decent job opportunities for everyone is to commit our society to a large, intractable, and costly dependent population. And the costs are not merely the cost of public assistance payments, but the incalculable, indirect costs of lost productivity, crime, and public discontent and private misery.

The solution to the "welfare mess"—if there is one—is to be found in meaningful and dignified work, in our society's explicit revelation of need for each person's contribution.

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APEX Summer Workshop
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A WAY TO THINK ABOUT EDUCATION, WORK, AND THE QUALITY OF LIFE

2. AN ORGANIZATIONAL FRAMEWORK

Our society, no matter how diverse and fragmented, has both a structure and a set of implicit values. It possesses an array of institutions designed to serve certain needs -- but not others. Though many of our institutions are planned to serve all the people, certain persons are encouraged to mine the resources of certain institutions - while others, de facto or de jure, are excluded.

In this section we hope to make four points. First, the way in which our society is now structured promotes a particular canonical path through life for its individual members. Whatever the status of our consensus, or diversity, the ways in which we are supposed to attach meaning, to develop opportunities, and to generate our senses of societal purpose derive their sanction from the architecture of our culture. Our society is not value-free.

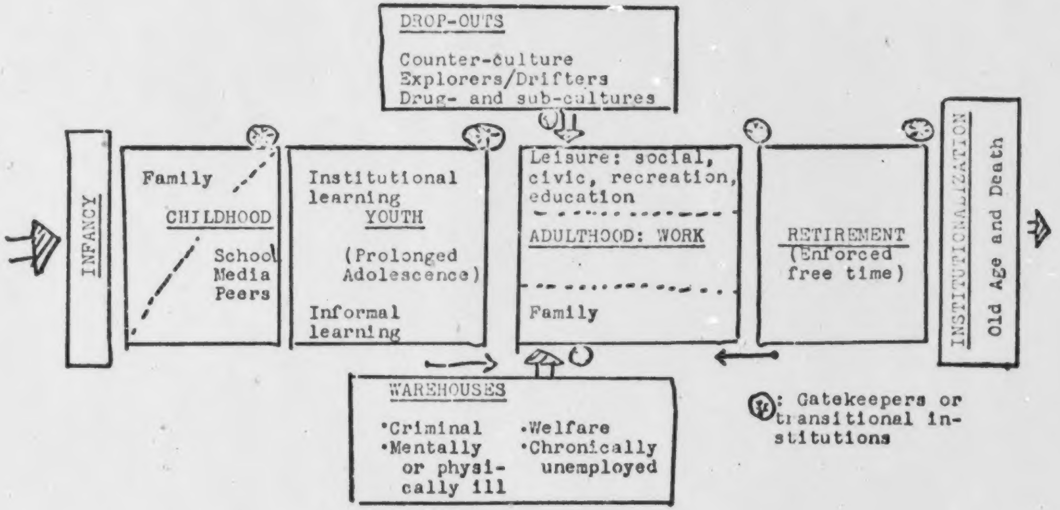
Second, certain of our social structures do not do very well what they are meant to do. We will pursue this idea more fully in the next section of this paper, in which we note some of the ways that the system strains and fails to function. What we emphasize here is that even the established and approved ways of living are difficult to come by.

Third, probably no one passes successfully through life along the prescribed canonical path. There is nevertheless the likelihood that those of us who do not proceed down the mainstream do so with a lively awareness of the tension between our own choices and the path which is supposed to be encouraged. Though few approach the norm, it is the norm against which people measure themselves.

There are ways to subvert, or avoid, or displace that norm: this is our fourth point. This idea will be expanded in our discussions of

SEGMENTATION OF LIFE ***

SEPARATION OF GENERATIONS



DROP-OUTS
Counter-culture
Explorers/Drifters
Drug- and sub-cultures
INFANCY
Family
CHILDHOOD
School
Media
Peers
Institutional learning
YOUTH
(Prolonged Adolescence)
Informal learning
Leisure: social, civic, recreation, education
ADULTHOOD: WORK
Family
RETIREMENT
(Enforced free time)
INSTITUTIONALIZATION
Old Age and Death
WAREHOUSES
·Criminal
·Mentally or physically ill
·Welfare
·Chronically unemployed
: Gatekeepers or transitional institutions

MAINTENANCE PATH:

"Choice" of career → Training → Working → Retirement

(...Childhood....Youth...Adult life.........Aged...)

problems and proposals; here we stress that a mushrooming number of members of our society live lives that demand and demonstrate ways of achieving greater freedom and choice, resilient modes of using society's structures rather than being shaped by them.

The canonical path begins with an infancy of two or three years, during which the family is the controlling presence. As in traditional societies, the family is the basic unit which embraces living, working, and learning. There follows a period of childhood, when peer groups, the school, and, especially recently, the various media compete in influence with the family. During the period of youth -- which is more and more being prolonged -- it is the institution of education that becomes a controlling presence: today, the structure of our society prescribes that youth means schooling, mostly formal. In some limited ways (deriving mainly from personal initiative), exploratory and informal learning also occur at this time, both within and without the school. Here, too, but growing less common, may be located some first passes at trial employment.

Freed from the educational institution, the new adult embarks abruptly on his career. His work occupies most of his time, and it is sharply set off from his two other prime concerns: leisure (the whole nexus of entertainment, social and civic and recreational activities, and whatever amount of continuing education he decides to engage in), and, most importantly, family. And at the end of his working life -- which is more and more being shortened -- the adult enters a period of retirement. Free time, either voluntary, enforced, or some combination of the two, becomes the key motif. His dependence increases as he becomes older, and finally he may be placed in an institution at the approach of death.

Viewed in this manner, life becomes a kind of maintenance path along which we are expected to slide irreversibly. To bridge the gap from youth to adulthood, to help effect choice and begin training for adult life and a job, society provides a host of "gatekeepers" -- counselors and shepherding institutions whose purpose is to smooth the rites of passage. Once training is complete, the adult is supposed to enter an extended period of work which puts him in a kind of steady-state position; his changes in employment are more often movements within a single structure (or kind of structure) then jumps to workplaces of a radically different kind. And there are a few jumps to institutions other than workplaces. Towards the end of the workpath there occurs another gap, facilitated by what gatekeepers and social institutions we possess, at the other side of which lies a period of retirement.

For which groups is society not prepared to ease the passage along the linear progression of maintenance? An obvious group -- suggested by the fact that we use the masculine pronoun when we describe the canonical path -- is women. In spite of our equalitarian motives, girls and boys do not receive the same kind of socialization and education. Nor, perhaps, should they. Nevertheless, girls' expectations of life are different because they are taught to stake different claims on life. Sex stereotypes and the role which they plan in encouraging widely divergent life choices have only recently begun to be understood; on the whole, it is still very much the case that the careers which girls are supposed to pursue are meant to be secondary to the careers that men do pursue. John will grow up to be a lawyer, Jill his secretary. And the labors in the home and with their children that adult women engage in are not "really" work, because they are not rewarded financially. A lifetime of housework does not provide eligibility for retirement.

Disadvantaged minorities, too, are not well served by the canonical path. They receive inferior educations, and they experience difficulty in entering and staying in the work world. At the end, they often find themselves without adequate retirement funds. Other outgroups -- the insane, the chronically ill, the involuntarily unemployed -- spend their lives in warehouses designed to contain them; they, too, do not behave in approved ways. Adulthood, for them, is not a period of earning which follows education.

And then there are those who have voluntarily opted out of the mainstream, either for a time or permanently. The drop-outs, the drifters, the explorers, the isolated ethnic groups, those seeking moratoria, the bohemians -- all belong to groups which provide them a freedom from associating the ages from twenty-five to sixty-two solely with pulling down a living.

A striking feature of the array of structures we have described is its set of boundaries. Canonical life occurs in blocks of time, and to these blocks are associated appropriate functions: youth means education, adulthood means work, and old age means retirement. The boundaries exist for voluntary and involuntary outgroups as well: their unconventionality imparts a sense of isolation. In thinking about these boundaries, we might profitably ask such questions about them as:

--What kind are they? Are they related to time? Subculture? Activity?

--What functions do they serve?

--What are the costs and benefits to society of having them?

--What efforts are required to pass through them, both in the conventional direction and in reverse?

--What are the formal and informal rites of passage involved?

--How visible are the various boundaries?

--How long do they last?

--Are they universal?

--What are the changes in boundaries that are occurring?

Alternative Perspectives

There is one particular way in which we can act outside of the linear maintenance path, although the extent to which people engage in this other way of conducting our lives depends very much on factors like social class, occupation, age, and sex. This is a kind of growth or entrepreneurial cycle: To some degree, we animate our lives with a constellation of activities designed to help us grow and prosper, no matter at what time of life they occur. The cycle begins with a period of exploration, a consideration of new roles and values using whichever resources we are able to muster. After,a tentative augmentation occurs (by which we mean more learning, whether from other people or institutions). We then arrive at a plan, and follow it with a trial implementation. If it doesn't work, we try another; if it does,.it becomes realized operationally, and we live with it. At some point, for some kinds of endeavor, we sense that the activity is approaching completion -- perhaps because we are tired of it, perhaps because it simply is drawing to a natural close. We might find that there are other activities which we might wish to pursue at great length, continually augmenting and focusing. We can, if we want, maintain several senses of self, to have several careers, to experience personal diversity both in parallel and serially. A growth cycle writ large is a way of seeing education, work, and leisure as strands that run intertwined throughout an individual's lifetime. It attempts to break the separation of functions, and to replace the gaps between generations by a mingling of age groups.

The canonical maintenance path is the one that our current society and its institutions is most capable of facilitating. The entrepreneurial cycle represents a maximization of choices at a maximum number of times in life, a situation which is currently incompatible with a stable society producing maximally. But if we imagine a continuum between them; if we accept that equality of opportunity means allowing every individual to locate himself along that continuum with as much free choice as is compatible with being a successful society in 1973; if we accept that a definition of success ought to depend more on what we want and what seems feasible than on what we are rooted in and are constrained by -- then we can begin finding ways of ensuring that the quality of life which the next generation will inherit will be the most humane and adequate that we can provide.

The entrepreneurial cycle is not offered as the alternative to the maintenance path. It is one of many ways that one might think about education and work to free one's speculative imagination from the current normative constraints. The problems outlined in the next section arise from the way the blocks of time in an individual's life are currently constructed. In thinking about these problems, we might wonder whether a system in which the uses of time were more flexible might be less apt to generate them.

3. SOME ISSUES OF EDUCATION AND WORK: A WAY TO THINK ABOUT PROBLEMS

In the last section, we offered a framework within which one might think about education and work. This summer, we tried to use the perspectives suggested by that framework in order to define and clarify the key issues that were raised by workshop participants. We have attempted to distinguish talk about administrative and institutional problems from broader questions of humanistic concern and national social and economic policy, and to see some interconnections between apparently unrelated issues. The number of separate issues cited by participants which are associated with the nexus of education and work is small. But they are clouded by misconception about their genesis, and they reflect deep complexities in our value structure and in our productive system. The following list of nine key issue areas does not attempt to be exhaustive or rigorously taxonomic. Rather, its purpose is to be archaeological, focus attention on the undergirding reasons for the existence of the commonly cited problems in education and work.

Segmentation of Lives

Most working Americans follow a monolithic path through life in which education is synonymous with youth, work with adulthood, and retirement with old age. Several problems result from dividing life into these discrete, age-graded functions:

--Work, "the badge of adulthood," is the only fully legitimate activity of maturity. There is "something wrong" with someone who is not working: the adult non-worker is considered to have and to be a social problem. Women who take care of their children, the unemployed and the underemployed, the dropout, the elderly -- none have full "working identities." They suffer both economically and psychologically from their second-class status, and so are excluded from some of society's rewards.

--Research indicates that education is more meaningful if it has a work component; that work is more meaningful if it has components of education and leisure; and that leisure is more meaningful if it has components of work and education and by "meaningful" we refer to the individual's value choices, not simply to imposed societal norms. By segmenting life functions, we make the activities of education, work, and leisure less meaningful than if they ran as three strands throughout our lives.

--A segmented life means that the individual often has only one chance for success or satisfaction. Education once missed or mis-applied in youth will likely cause untoward consequences throughout life. Only with difficulty can one escape from the track established by early educational experience. Those trained in vocational education shops, for example, are likely to be blue-collar workers for the rest of their lives -- particularly if they are black or from a working-class background.

Segregation of Generations

Education, the activity of youth, occurs at schools, which become youth ghettos. Work, the activity of adulthood, is performed in similarly age-segregated institutions. Retirement, the activity of the aged, occurs increasingly in "leisure communities" cut off from the rest of the world, both spiritually and physically. As a result the segregation of generations becomes a corollary to the segmentation of lives.

--Young people seldom, if ever, see adults at work. As James Coleman and Urie Bronfenbrenner have noted, this leaves youth improperly socialized to the work world and prolongs their adolescence.

--Cut off from older generations, from aspects of the essential guides of experience, tradition, and history, young people face a special difficulty in coping with important value questions in our rapidly changing society.

--Age-graded expectations accrue to behavior. In a rapidly changing society these expectations may run counter to economic necessity. For example, it is considered deviant for an adult working-class male to go back to school for a year. To cite another example, we have institutionalized the cultural expectation that people should retire when they are 60 to 65. Although the cultural rationale we offer for this practice is that retirement is a reward, the reason we retire healthy old people is a shortage of jobs. But in the near future, demographics may require that individuals work until they are 70 to keep the labor force participation high enough to support our productivity needs. What will then happen to the cultural notion that older people shouldn't work?

Access to Work

One of the clearest social problems in the society is the scarcity of jobs due to the national choice of low inflation over low unemployment. But this scarcity does not run evenly across the demographic groups of society; indeed, for middle-aged white males the problem is minimal. To keep the problem at bay for this group, we have kept young people out of the labor market until they are older and retired workers at an earlier age. To create employment for middle-aged women in answer to recent demands, we have increasingly excluded the young, the old, and minority men from the work force.

When we talk of providing jobs we can clearly identify who needs them: the young, the old, underprivileged minorities, and women. Within each of these groups we find, in addition to the overall question of general job scarcity, certain other specific problems.

The primary problems for youth include

--lack of information about jobs (guidance, counselling, and placement)
--rigid credentialism
--lack of voluntary jobs
--lack of part-time, short-term, and other flexible jobs
--age and legal barriers

The primary problems for the aged include

--pension rigidities (including social security regulations)
--lack of part-time and other flexible jobs
--lack of voluntary jobs
--employer attitudes
--lack of career change possibilities

The primary problems for the underprivileged include

--lack of skills
--shape of secondary labor market (insecurity, etc.)
--lack of appropriate work attitudes
--rigid credentialism
--lack of information
--geographic location of jobs
--inflexible cultural demands of jobs

The primary problems for women include

--sexual stereotyping of tasks
--inflexible forms of jobs -- few part-time, short-term, etc.
--legal barriers
--failure to recognize housework and child care as work

Access to Education

In a society in which there was full employment, the problems of access to education would be greatly diminished. But in our society, which is not so forward, access to education remains a problem for specific groups.

For the disadvantaged the main access problems are financial and curricular. Poor people often cannot afford tuition costs incidental to post-secondary education. What skills training there occurs is not tied specifically to a job at the end of the training. The kinds of education available are simply too middle-class oriented for the disadvantaged.

For the elderly the main problems are geographical and curricular. Old people have difficulty in attending classes at inner-city institutions and remote rural campuses, and feel uncomfortable with the youth-oriented tone of those institutions. The courses that are available to them seldom are tied to real employment possibilities.

Blue-collar workers have not fully participated in educational opportunities because their jobs leave them physically tired and psychologically weakened; the hours of classes are inconvenient; credential or prerequisite requirements often exclude them; they are uncomfortable in class with upper-middle class youth; the curricula are inadequate to their needs, and seldom can be used to accomplish mid-career changes.

Middle-class males are often interested in courses that directly facilitate mid-career change; few of these are widely available. Middle-class women want classes that will lead to jobs; these, too, remain widely unavailable.

One set of problems cuts across most of these groups. There is not enough variety in the kinds of courses offered and in the kinds of pedagogical techniques and settings used, More, there is not enough good information about where and how the courses are available.

For many workers, a chief problem is the absence of learning on the job. All adults desire some kind of learning experience; in particular, they like challenging work that allows them to grow and develop new skills. For some workers -- those in slow growing industries who are skilled and need to be retrained for jobs in fast growing industries, those in dead-end jobs, and those in industries about to close - their problem, like that of the disadvantaged, is one of access to instruction for a job that they are guaranteed at the end of their training.

Job and Learning Satisfaction

There is much evidence that there is a problem of job dissatisfaction in America. Elements of job satisfaction -- there is no apparent source -- include higher pay, greater security, effective participation in decision making and in profits, improved mobility, education on and off the job, good physical working conditions, high status, challenge on the job, autonomy, and a number of others. What on this list is satisfying for one person may not be so for another. We know that constant supervision, coercion, lack of variety, monotony, meaningless tasks, and isolation are factors that may lead to job dissatisfaction, but they are not common to all workers.

Recent research indicates that the key requisites for learning satisfaction include maintaining curiosity, maintaining and building self confidence, feeling a sense of relevance, inducing a love of learning, and developing competence. Individuals vary in what they seek from education, but society seems even less sure of what the goals of education are. What is an educated person? What constitute good ways of teaching and learning? We have an extraordinary number of questions to answer before we can design schools more capable of satisfying the wide range of still dimly understood learning needs in our society.

Institutional Flexibility

Most schools are organized, by custom or by design, in an authoritarian fashion which instills conformity and obedience in pupils. They follow a model of set texts, rigid schedules; examination, and grading. Students go to school from 8 a.m. to 3 p.m. for nine months of the year, from ages five to sixteen (for the poor and working class), or from three to twenty-five (for the upper middle-class).

Most jobs are organized in anauthoritarian fashion built upon the ethic of conformity and obedience learned in the schools. They follow a model of set and simplified tasks, rigid schedules, and tight discipline and control. Most of us work from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. for fifty weeks a year, from ages seventeen to sixty-five (for the poor and working class), or from twenty-six to sixty (for the upper middle-class).

These forms apparently suit some individuals. But poor school performance and low work productivity are signs that something is wrong. Increasing numbers of people are demanding greater choice in the form of education: they are asking for self-mastery courses, and flexible time schedules, and on-the-job and in-the-field training. They want a greater range of curricular content, from pottery to phenomenology, from coping skills and risk taking to Zen and media. They demand greater flexibility from their job: in educational opportunity, in clothing, in personal autonomy, and in job design. And they want the freedom to drop out of school and into work, out of work and into school. Surely a balance must be struck between complete institutional flexibility and maximal societal productivity, but at present the pendulum seems too displaced too far to one side.

Work-Education Inter-Relations

Many of the sorest spots in our society are at the nodes where education and work meet. One glaring problem is the mutual failure to achieve productive relationships between those in the world of work (business and labor union leaders), those in the world of education, and the citizenry. In Europe, no meeting of educators would be complete without representatives of business and labor in attendance. In the U.S., only at the level of the local school board do we find those responsible for work institutions commingled with educators. And much of even this is unproductive because those from business and labor who serve on school boards usually represent their own political interests rather than the needs of their work organizations.

The distance between educators and employers was made visible to us when we recently asked fifteen vice-presidents for personnel of leading industrial corporations what they thought of the new concept of Career Education: fourteen admitted that they had never heard of it.

Problems of the education-work nexus include

--Transitions.
For adolescents, there are few institutions to facilitate the change from schooling to work; shortages of exploratory jobs; inadequate counselling, guidance, and placement; a lack of valid information about employers and jobs; and a paucity of apprenticeship programs.

There are few (if any) facilitating institutions to help adults who wish to change jobs or to seek retraining for another job, although they demonstrably need counselling, information, placement services, and occasionally financial assistance.

The transition from work to retirement is perhaps the most painful one in life; after over forty years of work people are abruptly sent out to pasture. No attempt is made to smooth the transition by allowing the worker to taper off by working part-time before full retirement.

--Transfers.
Little or no academic credit is offered for work experience, and so workers, especially those in blue-collar jobs, have little incentive to take educational courses toward a degree. Employers do not encourage continuing education for their lower-level employees. And although they often encourage continuing education for managers and professionals, they do not if it entails stepping out of work for periods over a month.

--Credentials.
We have required higher and higher credentials for the same work. High school diplomas have become a prerequisite for most apprenticeships and entry-level, semi-skilled jobs. But the economy has not changed rapidly enough to meet the requirements of the increased educational level of the work force. The expansion of professional, technical, and clerical jobs absorbs only fifteen per cent of the new educated workers; eighty-five per cent accept jobs previously performed by individuals with fewer credentials. Higher credentials and job performance appear to be inversely related. Highly credentialled workers quickly grow bored with unchallanging work, and it is among them that high turnover and low productivity are characteristically found.

--Training.
It is unclear when and where job training should occur. In the past, vocational education trained young people on obsolete machines for skills no longer in demand. Today, even with the best of intentions, there is an unavoidable lag between the time industry assesses its needs and the time when the schools can gear up to meet them. On-the-job training itself tends to be narrow, does not fall under any check for quality control, and the skills learned are rarely transferable.

--Work Experience.
Cooperative education and work/study programs are widely accepted as the best tools for career education, but their spread is blocked by child labor laws, scarcity of jobs, and union contracts.

--Economic Questions.
Education and work are sensitively tied to our economic system. At the national level we have the following problems:

- high physical and mental health bills
- high bills for compensatory education
- high bills for institutional wards
- high rate of exporting jobs
- poor international balance of trade
- high unemployment
- high inflation
- low productivity
- high welfare rolls

At the microeconomic level, problems such as these are evident:

- escalating demands of new technology
- poor goods and services
- demands of women and minorities for mobility
- changing work ethic
- empty career slots
- absenteeism
- low productivity
- sabotage
- high turnover
- obsolete workers

Market Value of Education

It has been reliably projected that by 1980 only twenty per cent of all jobs will require a B.A. degree. Today most entry-level jobs in industry can be performed without prior training. Most assembly operations can be learned on the job in a week. Most jobs in the service sector have transferable skills. And most plumbers and truck drivers can earn as much money as a college professor.

The growing discontinuities between work and credentialing requirements, rates of remuneration for work, and job opportunities raise serious questions about the market value of education. If most training can be acquired on the job, is specialized schooling desireable? If career education is provided, how can we avoid raising job expectations and credentials to unrealistic levels? If the market value of education for work has largely driven out its other aim -- like education for citizenship or family or leisure -- what should its role be? Now that we appear to be slaking the economy's thirst for ever more highly trained personnel, what ethic about work should be taught? If more courses were taught in a way that stressed individual performance over competitive grading, in an atmosphere of joy rather than coercion, and in a spirit of love of learning rather than learning-for-better-jobs, would schooling seem less irrelevant?

Item D

F-1898

The Roots of Alienation

Urie Bronfenbrenner[1]

I. The Nature of Alienation

Before examining the roots of alienation, I should like to speak briefly of its bitter fruits. What form do they take? To answer this question we must understand the basic nature of alienation. At its core, it is a subjective state, a feeling of *not belonging*, of rejection of and by the people, the community, and the society in which one lives, along with disinterest and distaste for association with these groups and for involvement in the kinds of activities in which they engage.

This subjective feeling finds expression in different forms of behavior. First there is *withdrawal*. The alienated person disassociates himself from the community that claims him, from its customs, values, and responsibilities; instead, he chooses, as the phrase goes, to "do his own thing" with others like himself. But curiously enough, the new activities that supposedly spring from within the self are not unrelated to the larger community from which the person feels so apart; far more often than not, "doing your own thing" turns out to be "undoing their thing". Thus in a culture which, at the societal plane, values, science, technology, business and national prestige, and, at a personal level, places a premium on achievement, industry, emotional control, and propriety -- in short, on the Protestant ethic, "doing your own thing" has taken such forms as "dropping out", rejection of scientific and business careers, a return to nature, sexual freedom, and a preoccupation with mysticism and inner experience as mediated by drugs. In other words, along with withdrawal, this pattern of seemingly subjective choice clearly reflects a strong element of *hostility*, which in its most extreme form involves unashamed, though not always witting, destruction of the community and its institutions.

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But withdrawal and hostility are not the only reactions which alienation can generate. It can also give rise to other forms of response. For example, American universities are experiencing an unprecedented shift in the preferences and career plans of their students. The decline of interest in science and technology is paralleled by a new concentration in the humanities and social sciences. More and more students today, including the most able among them, are voicing and pursuing a commitment to improve the quality of life through the creative arts, social service, and social change.

What accounts for the differential response to feelings of alienation? Why do some react by withdrawal, others by attack, and still others by an effort to reform? To answer these questions we must look behind them and seek to understand the conditions that give rise to loss of identity. We turn, then, to our first major task: to probe the roots of alienation.

II. The Roots of Alienation

A direction for our search is provided by a small but significant detail in our original definition. We spoke of alienation as a feeling of rejection of and by the outside world. This would seem to suggest that the rejection expressed by the alienated person is a retort in kind, that he feels estranged and hostile because he has in fact been deserted and denigrated by his society. Is there any evidence that this is indeed the case?

Some light is shed on this question by the fact that the manifestations of alienation do not appear at random throughout American society but predominate among certain groups in the population who are indeed the victims of deprivation, discrimination, and distrust. I speak, of course, of the poor, non-Whites, women, youth -- and one other group whose estrangement is so complete that it is not even noticed or acknowledged, despite the fact that its members comprise over one-fourth of our total population. I have in mind the children of this nation. In the words of a report prepared for the White House Conference on Children by a committee under my chairmanship (Report to the President).

> America's families and their children are in trouble, trouble so deep and pervasive as to threaten the future of the nation. The source of the trouble is nothing less than a national neglect of children and those primarily engaged in their care -- America's parents (P. 252).

If the statement just quoted is correct, it speaks directly to our concern, for it identifies childhood as the period in which the origins of alienation are to be sought and counteracted. What then are the facts? To quote again from the foregoing report:

> The neglect begins even before the child is born. America, the richest and most powerful country in the world, stands thirteenth among the nations in combating infant mortality; even East Germany does better (Profiles of Children, P. 61). Moreover, our ranking has dropped steadily in recent decades.[2] A similar situation obtains with respect to maternal and child health, day care, children's allowances, and other basic services to children and families.
>
> But the figures for the nation as a whole, dismaying as they are, mask even greater inequities. For example, infant mortality for non-Whites in the United States is almost twice that for Whites, and there are a number of Southern states, and Northern metropolitan areas, in which the ratios are considerably higher (Profiles of Children, Pp. 90-92).

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[2] Except as otherwise noted, the comparative data cited in this statement are documented in Bronfenbrenner, U., Two Worlds of Childhood: U.S. and U.S.S.R. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1970). See especially pages 95-124.

> Ironically, of even greater cost to the society than infants who die are the many more who sustain injury but survive with disability. Many of these suffer impaired intellectual function and behavioral disturbance including hyperactivity, distractability, and low attention span, all factors contributing to school retardation and problem behavior. Again, the destructive impact is greatest on the poorest segments of the population, especially non-Whites. It is all the more tragic that this massive damage and its subsequent cost in reduced productivity, lower income, unemployability, welfare payments, and institutionalization are avoidable if adequate nutrition, prenatal care, and other family and child services are provided, as they are in a number of countries less prosperous than ours (Report to the President, Pp. 252-253).

But it is not only children from disadvantaged families who show signs of progressive neglect. For example, an analysis carried out a few years ago (Bronfenbrenner, 1958) of data on child rearing practices in the United States over a twenty-five year period reveals a decrease in all spheres of interaction between parents and children. A similar conclusion is indicated by results of cross-cultural studies comparing American parents with those from Western and Eastern Europe (Bronfenbrenner, 1970; Devereux, Bronfenbrenner & Rodgers, 1969; Rodgers, Human Development, in press). Moreover, as parents and other adults have moved out of the lives of children, the vacuum has been filled by the age-segregated peer group. Recently, two of my colleagues (Condry & Siman, in press) have completed a study showing that, at every age and grade level, children today show a greater dependency on their peers than they did a decade ago. A parallel study (Condry & Siman, in press) indicates that such susceptibility to group influence is higher among children from homes in which one or both parents are frequently absent. In addition, "peer oriented" youngsters describe their parents as less affectionate and less firm in discipline. Attachment to age-mates appears to be influenced more by a lack of attention and concern at home then by any positive attraction of the peer group itself. In fact, these children have a rather negative view of their friends and of themselves as well. They are pessimistic about the future, rate lower in responsibility and leadership, and are more likely to engage in such antisocial behavior as lying, teasing other children, "playing hooky", or "doing something illegal".

More recent evidence comes from a dissertation currently being completed by Mr. Michael Siman. Siman did something which, so far as I know, has never been done before. Working with a large sample of teenagers (ages 12 to 17), most of them from middle and lower middle-class homes in New York City, he went to a great deal of trouble to identify and study the actual peer groups in which these adolescents spend so much of their time. There were 41 such peer groups in all. Siman was interested in determining the relative influence of parents versus peers on the behavior of the teenager. Three classes of behavior were studied:

1. Socially constructive activities such as taking part in sports, helping someone who needs help, telling the truth, doing useful work for the neighborhood or community without pay, etc.
2. Neutral activities such as listening to records, spending time with the family, etc.
3. Anti-social activities such as "playing hooky", "doing something illegal", hurting people, etc.

Siman also obtained information on the extent to which each teenager perceived these activities to be approved or disapproved by his parents and by the members of his peer group. The results are instructive. In the case of boys, for example, he finds that for all three classes of behavior, peers are substantially more influential than parents. In fact, in most cases, once the attitudes of the peer group are taken into account, the attitudes of the parents make no difference whatsoever. The only exceptions are in the area of constructive behavior, where the parent does have some secondary influence in addition to the peer group. But in the neutral, and, especially, the anti-social sphere the peer group is all determining. When it comes to such behaviors as doing something illegal, smoking, or aggression, once the attitude of the peer group is taken into account, the parents' disapproval carries no weight.

What we are seeing here, of course, are the roots of alienation and its milder consequences. The more serious manifestations are reflected in the rising rates of youthful drug abuse, delinquency, and violence documented in charts and tables specially prepared for the White House Conference on Children (Profiles of Children, Pp. 78, 79, 108, 179, 180). According to these data the proportion of youngsters between the ages of 10 and 18 arrested for drug abuse doubled between 1964; since 1963, juvenile delinquency has been increasing at a faster rate than the juvenile population; over half the crimes involve vandalism, theft, or breaking and entry; and, if the present trends continue, one out of every nine youngsters will appear in juvenile court before age 18. These figures index only detected and prosecuted offenses. How high must they run before we acknowledge that they reflect deep and pervasive problems in the treatment of children and youth in our society?

What accounts for the growing alienation of children and youth in American society? Why is it that the parents have so little influence? There are those who are quick to put the blame on the parents themselves, charging them with willful neglect and inadequate discipline. But to take this view is to disregard the social context in which families live, and thereby to do injustice to parents as human beings. Although there is no systematic evidence on the question, there are grounds for believing that parents today, far from not caring about their children, are more worried about them then they have ever been in the course of recent history. The crux of the problem, as indicated by Siman's data, is that many parents have become powerless as forces in the lives of their children. The nature of the problem has been spelled out in the previously mentioned report for the White House Conference. The following excerpts convey the thrust of the argument:

> In today's world parents find themselves at the mercy of a society which imposes pressures and priorities that allow neither time nor place for meaningful activities and relations between children and adults, which downgrade the role of parents and the functions of parenthood, and which prevent

the parent from doing things he wants to do as a guide, friend, and companion to his children...

The frustrations are greatest for the family of poverty where the capacity for human response is crippled by hunger, cold, filth, sickness, and despair. For families who can get along the rats are gone, but the rat race remains. The demands of a job, or often two jobs, that claim mealtimes, evenings, and weekends as well as days; the trips and moves necessary to get ahead or simply hold one's own; the ever increasing time spent in commuting, parties, evenings out, social and community obligations--all the things one has to do to meet so-called primary responsibilities--produce a situation in which a child often spends more time with a passive babysitter than a participating parent.

And even when the parent is at home, a compelling force cuts off communication and response among the family members. Although television could, if used creatively, enrich the activities of children and families, it now only undermines them. Like the sorcerer of old, the television set casts its magic spell, freezing speech and action and turning the living into silent statues so long as the enchantments lasts. The primary danger of the television screen lies not so much in the behavior it produces as the behavior it prevents -- the talks, the games, the family festivities and arguments through which much of the child's learning takes place and his character is formed. Turning on the television set can turn off the process that transforms children into people.

In our modern way of life, children are deprived not only of parents but of people in general. A host of factors conspire to isolate children from the rest of society. The fragmentation of the extended family, the separation of residential and business areas, the disappearance of neighborhoods, zoning ordinances, occupational mobility, child labor laws, the abolishment of the apprentice system, consolidated schools, television, separate patterns of social life for different age groups, the working mother, the delegation of child care to specialists--

all these manifestations of progress operate to decrease opportunity and incentive for meaningful contact between children and persons older, or younger, than themselves.

And here we confront a fundamental and disturbing fact: Children need people in order to become human. The fact is fundamental because it is firmly grounded both in scientific research and in human experience. It is disturbing because the isolation of children from adults simultaneously threatens the growth of the individual and the survival of the society. Child rearing is not something children can do for themselves. It is primarily through observing, playing, and working with others older and younger than himself that a child discovers both what he can do and who he can become -- that he develops both his ability and his identity. It is primarily through exposure and interaction with adults and children of different ages that a child acquires new interests and skills and learns the meaning of tolerance, cooperation, and compassion. Hence to relegate children to a world of their own is to deprive them of their humanity, and ourselves as well.

Yet, this is what is happening in America today. We are experiencing a breakdown in the process of making human beings human. By isolating our children from the rest of society, we abandon them to a world devoid of adults and ruled by the destructive impulses and compelling pressures both of the age-segregated peer group and the aggressive and exploitive television screen, we leave our children bereft of standards and support and our own lives impoverished and corrupted.

This reversal of priorities, which amounts to a betrayal of our children, underlies the growing disillusionment and alienation among young people in all segments of American society. Those who grew up in settings where children, families, still counted are able to react to their frustration in positive ways-- through constructive protest, participation, and public service. Those who come from circumstances in which the family could not function, be it in slum or suburb, can only strike

> out against an environment they have experienced as indifferent, callous, cruel, and unresponsive. This report does not condone the destruction and violence manifested by young people in widely disparate sections of our society; it merely points to the roots of a process which, if not reversed, ...can have only one result: the far more rapid and pervasive growth of alienation, apathy, drugs, delinquency, and violence among the young, and not so young, in all segments of our national life. We face the prospect of a society which resents its own children and fears its youth. ...What is needed is a change in our patterns of living which will once again bring people back into the lives of children and children back into the lives of people (Report to the President, Pp. 241-243).

Stripped of their rhetoric, the foregoing passages can be seen as spelling out the consequence of a breakdown in social process at two levels: first a failure in the primary institution of the society for making human beings human -- the family; second, a "withering away" of the support systems in the larger society that in fact enable the family to function. In the last analysis, therefore, the roots of alienation are found to lie in the institutions of our society as they are presently structured and as they currently function. The question therefore becomes, can these institutions be changed, can old ones be modified and new ones introduced in such a way as to rebuild and revitalize the social context which families and children require for their effective function and growth. It is to this question that we turn as our final and most important concern.

III. Support Systems for Children and Families

To counteract the forces of alienation in contemporary American society will require the involvement of all our social institutions -- not only those having direct and acknowledged impact on children and families -- such as schools, churches, health and welfare services, and recreation programs -- but also other organizations and enterprises whose imact on families, children, and youth is often unrecognized but profound. This includes local businesses and industries, law enforcement agencies, local and regional planning commissions, architectural firms, transportation and sanitation services, etc.

We begin our discussion with those institutions on the contemporary American scene, which, in our judgment, will have the greatest impact in affecting, for better or for worse, the welfare of America's children and youth.

Day Care. Day care is coming to America. The question is: what kind? Shall we, in response to external pressures to "put people to work", or for personal considerations of convenience, allow a pattern to develop in which the care of young children is delegated to specialists, thus further separating the child from his family and reducing the family's and the community's feeling of responsibility for their children? Or, shall our modern day care be designed, as it can be, to reinvolve and strengthen the family as the primary and proper agent for the process of making human beings human?

The answers to these questions depend on the extent to which day care programs are so located and so organized as to encourage rather than to discourage the involvement of parents and other non-professionals in the development and operation of the program both at the center and in the home. Like Project Head Start, day care programs can have no lasting constructive impact on the development of the child unless they affect not only the child himself but the people who constitute his enduring day-to-day environment in the family, neighborhood, and community. This means not only that parents must play a prominent part in the planning and administration of day care programs, but that they must also actively participate in the execution of the program as volunteers and aides. It means that the program cannot be confined to the center, but must reach out into the home and the community so that the whole neighborhood is caught up in activities in behalf of its children. From this point of view, we need to experiment in location of day care centers in places that are within reach of the significant people in the child's life. For some families this means neighborhood centers; for others, centers at the place of work. A great deal of variation and innovation will be required to find the appropriate solutions for different groups in different settings.

Availability of part-time employment. But all of these solutions confront a critical obstacle in contemporary American society. The keystone of an effective day care program as here outlined is parent participation. But how can a mother, let alone a father, participate if she works full time, (which is one of the main reasons why the family needs day care in the first place)? I see only one possible solution to this problem -- increased opportunities and rewards for part-time employment. It was in the light of this consideration that the aforementioned Report to the White House Conference urged business, industry, and government as employers to increase the number and status of part-time positions. In addition the Report recommended that state legislatures enact a "Fair Part-Time Employment Practices Act", which would prohibit discrimination in job opportunity, rate of pay, fringe benefits, and status for parents who sought or engaged in part-time employment.

Modification of work schedules and obligations. Along the same line, the Report also urged employers to re-examine and modify present policies and practices of the organization as they affected family life, especially in the following areas: out of town, weekend and overnight obligations; frequency and timing of geographical moves; flexibility of work schedule; leave and rest privileges for maternal and child care; and job-related social obligations.

The role of women in American society. These concerns bring us to a consideration of a factor which, in my judgment, profoundly affects the welfare of the nation's children. I refer to the place and status of women in American society. Setting aside the thorny but important issue of whether women are more gifted and effective in the care of young children then are men, the fact remains that in our society today, it is overwhelmingly on the women, and especially on mothers, that the care of our children depends. Moreover, with the withdrawal of the social supports for the family to which I alluded earlier, the position of women and mothers has become increasingly isolated. With the breakdown of community, neighborhood, and the extended family, an increasingly greater responsibility for the care and upbringing of children has fallen on the young mother. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that many young women in America are in the process of revolt. I for one understand and share their sense of rage, but I fear the consequences of the solutions they advocate, which will have the effect of isolating children still further from the kind of care and attention they need. There is, of course, a constructive implication to this line of thought; namely, a major route to the rehabilitation of children and youth in American society lies in the enhancement of the status and power of women in all walks of life--both on the job and in the home. As I read the research literature, the ideal arrangement for the development of the young child is one in which his mother works part-time, for only in this way can she be the full person that being an effective parent requires.

Reacquainting children with adults as participants in the world of work. One of the most significant effects of age-segregation in our society has been the isolation of children from the world of work. Whereas in the past children not only saw what their parents did for a living but even shared substantially in the task, many children nowadays have only a vague notion of the nature of the parent's job, and have had little or no opportunity to observe the parent, or for that matter any other adult, when he is fully engaged in his work. Although there is no systematic research evidence on this subject, it appears likely that the absence of such exposure contributes significantly to the growing alienation among children and youth that we have already described. Yet, as experience in other modern urban societies indicates, such isolation of children from adults in the world of work is not inevitable, since it may be countered by creative social innovations. Perhaps the most imaginative and pervasive of these is the pattern universally employed in the Soviet Union (Bronfenbrenner, 1970), in which a place of work-- such as a shop in a factory, an office, institute, or business enterprise -- adopts a group of children as their "wards." The children's group is typically a school classroom, but may also include a nursery hospital ward, or any other setting in which children are dealt with collectively. The workers not only visit the children's group wherever it may be, but also invite the youngsters to the place of work in order to familiarize the child with the nature of their own activities and with themselves as people. The aim is not vocational education, but rather acquaintance with adults as participants in the world of work.

There seems to be nothing in such an approach that would be incompatible with the values and aims of our own society, and this writer has urged its adaptation to the American scene. Acting on this suggestion, Dr. David Goslin of the Russell Sage Foundation persuaded one of America's great newspapers, the Detroit Free Press, to participate in an unusual experiment as a prelude to the White House Conference on Children. By the time it was over, two groups of twelve-year-old children, one from a slum area, the other predominantly middle class, had spent six to seven hours a day for three days in virtually every department of the newspaper, not just observing, but actively participating in the department's activities. There were boys and girls in the press room, the city room, the composing room, the advertising department, and the dispatch department. The employees of the Free Press entered into the experiment with serious misgivings. "This is a busy place; we have a newspaper to get out every day. What are those kids going to do, just sit around? And besides, the languge that's used around here isn't exactly what you'd want a kid to hear!" What actually happened is recorded in a documentary film that was made of the experiment.[3] The children were not bored; nor were the adults. And the paper did get out every day. Here are some of the spontaneous comments recorded in the film.

> "Adults should talk more with children and pay more attention to them instead of leaving them in the dark -- because you can't really get to know much about each other unless you talk."-- Gian, age 11

> "It's sad to see her leaving. In three days she became part of the group up there." -- Tony, age 53

> "This is a place to meet, a way to understand people." -- Megan, age 11

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[3] "A Place to Meet, a Way to Understand". The National Audiovisual Center (GSA), Washington, D. C. 20409.

"It's been fun, it really has...I talked to him about having him out to our house to meet my sons and visit with us." -- Joe, age 36

"If every kid in Detroit and all around the United States got to do this -- I don't think there would be as many problems in the world." -- Collette, age 11

Of course, the adults at work whom the children got to know at the Detroit Free Press were not their own parents. Remarking on this fact, a group of leading businessmen and industrialists at a conference convened by the Johnson Foundation in follow-up of the White House recommendations came up with a modification which they proposed to try in their own companies; namely, having the employees invite their own children to spend an extended period at the parent's place of work. At first, the notion was that the parents would take time off, so that they could be free to be with their children, but one of the participants correctly pointed out that this would defeat the entire purpose of the undertaking, which was to enable children to see their parents engaged in responsible and demanding tasks.

It should be clear that if these kinds of innovations are to accomplish their objective, they cannot be confined to a single experience, even of three days, but must be continued, at intermittent intervals, over an extended period of time. Nor is it yet established what the effect of such innovations will be on the behavior and development of children. Indeed we do not even know whether American society will find such innovations acceptable and feasible. But there is some hope that experiments of this kind will be tried. As this is being written, the Detroit Free Press film has just become available for distribution to the public, and already the word has come back that a variety of innovations are being initiated. In one community, for example, the city government has decided to "adopt" groups of children in order to acquaint them with the people and activities involved in that enterprise. In another area, advertisements have been placed in the local newspaper asking persons engaged in a wide variety of occupations (e.g. carpenter, insurance salesman, garage mechanic, social worker, etc.) whether they would be willing to have one child accompany them as they go through the day's work. As such innovations are introduced, they should be evaluated not only in terms of their impact on the child, but also on the adult who, perhaps for the first time, is being asked to relate to a young child in the context of his life's occupation.

The involvement of children in genuine responsibilities. If the child is to become a responsible person, he must not only be exposed to adults engaged in demanding tasks, but himself, from early on, begin to participate in such activities. In the perspective of cross-cultural research, one of the characteristics that emerges most saliently for our nation is what Nicholas Hobbs has called "the inutility of childhood" in American society. To quote again from the White House Report:

> Our children are not entrusted with any real responsibilities in their family, neighborhood, or community. Little that they do really matters. When they do participate, it is in some inconsequential undertaking. They are given duties rather than responsibilities; that is, the ends and means have been determined by someone else, and their job is to fulfill an assignment involving little judgment, decision making, or risk. The latter remain within the purvay of supervising adults. Although this policy is deemed to serve the interest of the children themselves by protecting them from burdens beyond their years, there is reason to believe that it has been carried too far in contemporary American society and has contributed to the alienation and alleged incapacity of young people to deal constructively with personal and social problems. The evidence indicates that children acquire the capacity to cope with difficult situations when they have been given opportunity to take on consequential responsibilities in relation to others, and are held accountable for them (Report to the President, P. 247).

The role of the school. While training for responsibility by giving responsibility clearly begins in the family, the institution which is probably done the most to keep children insulated from challenging social tasks is the American school system. For historical reasons rooted in the separation of church and state, this system has been isolated from responsible social concern both substantively and spatially. In terms of content, education in America, when viewed from a cross-cultural perspective, seems peculiarly one-sided; it emphasizes subject matter to the exclusion of another molar aspect of the child's development. The neglect of this second area is reflected by the absence of any generally accepted term for it in our educational vocabulary. What the Germans call *Erziehung*, the Russians *vospitanie*, and the French *education* has no common counterpart in English. Perhaps the best equivalents are "upbringing" or "character education" -- terms which, to the extent that they have any meaning to us at all, sound outmoded and irrelevant. In many countries of Western and Eastern Europe, however, the corresponding terms are not only current, but constitute what is regarded as the core of the educational process -- the development of the child's qualities as a person -- his values, motives, and patterns of social response. The last mentioned category underscores the point that these are matters not only of educational philosophy, as they are sometimes with us, but of concrete educational practice both within the classroom and without -- in home, neighborhood, and larger community.

The preceding statement highlights the second insular aspect of the American educational process; our schools, and thereby our children, are kept insulated from the immediate social environment, from the life of the community, neighborhood, and the families that the schools purport to serve, and the life for which they are supposedly preparing the children under their charge.

Moreover, the insularity characterizing the relation of the American school to the outside world is repeated within the school system itself, where children are segregated into classrooms that have little social connection to each other or to the school as a common community, for which a members might take active responsibility both as individuals and groups.

During the past decade, the trend toward segregation of the school from the rest of the society has been rapidly accelerated by the other forces of social disorganization that we have discussed. *As a result, the schools have become one of the most potent breeding grounds of alienation in American* society. For this reason, it is of crucial importance for the welfare and development of school age children that schools be reintegrated into the life of the community. Above all, we must reverse the present trend toward the construction and administration of schools as isolated compounds divorced from the rest of the community. Many such schools are becoming quasi-penal institutions in which teachers are increasingly forced to function as detectives and guards with pupils being treated as suspects or prisoners for whom liberty is a special privilege.

As studies of other contemporary societies show (Bronfenbrenner, 1970; Jarus, Marcus, Oren, & Rapaport, 1970) educational programs do not have to be carried out in isolation from the rest of the society. We have already described the Soviet institution of "group adoption" which provides a bridge between the school and the world of working adults. The Russians apply this same pattern within the school itself. Here it is groups of children who do the "adopting". Thus each class takes on responsibility for the care of a group of children at a lower grade level. For example, a third grade class "adopts" a first grade class in the same school, or a kindergarten in the immediate neighborhood. The older children escort the younger ones to the school or center, play with them on the playground, teach them new games, read to them, help them learn. Moreover, the manner in which they fulfill this civic responsibility enters into the evaluation of their school performance as a regular part of the curriculum.

Again, there is nothing in this pattern which would be incompatible with the values and objectives of our own society. Indeed, some of its elements are already present in the cross-age tutoring programs which have begun to spring up around the country (Cloward, 1967; National Commission on Resources for Youth, Inc., 1969; Parke, 1969). But here again the focus tends to be on the development of skills and subject matter rather than concern for the total child as an individual and a member of his own and the larger community.

One way of translating this broader concept in concrete terms would be to establish in the school, beginning even at the elementary level, what might be called functional courses in human development. These would be distinguished in a number of important ways from courses or units on "family life", as they are now taught in the junior high school, chiefly for girls who do not plan to go on to college. The material is typically presented in vicarious form; that is, through reading, discussion, or at most, through role playing, rather than actual role taking. In contrast, the approach being proposed here would have as its core responsible and active concern for the lives of young children and their families. Such an experience could be facilitated by locating day care centers and Head Start Programs in or near schools, so that they could be utilized as an integral part of the curriculum. The older children would be working with the younger ones on a regular basis. In addition, they would escort the little ones to and from school or center, and spend some time with them out of school. In this way, they would have an opportunity to become acquainted with the younger children's families, and the circumstances in which they live. This in turn would provide a vitalizing context for the study of services and facilities available to children and families in the community, such as health care, social services, recreation facilities, and of course, the schools themselves. Obviously, the scope of responsibility would increase with the age of the child, but throughout there would have to be adequate supervision and clear delineation of the limits of responsibility carried by older children in relation to the young.

The same pattern of responsible involvement could also be applied in relation to other groups such as the aged, the sick, the disadvantaged, and those living alone.

Finally, within a broader perspective, the children should be given an active part in defining what the problems are in their school and their community, and what their responsibility is or should become in contributing to a solution to these problems. Within the school, this implies greater involvement of children in the formulation and enforcement of codes of behavior and in the planning and development of activities of the classroom, so that the burden of maintaining discipline does not fall solely or even primarily on the shoulders of the teacher, who would then be left free to perform the primary function of expanding the children's horizon and range of competence.

Neighborhoods and communities as support systems. It has been the central thesis of this paper that the power of parents, and other adults, to function as constructive forces in the lives of children depends in substantial measure on the degree to which the surrounding community provides the place, time, example, and encouragement for persons to engage in activities with the young. This, in turn, implies the existence, and, where need be, the establishment in the community of institutions which address themselves primarily to these concerns. It is significant that, at the present time, few such institutions do in fact exist. As matters now stand, the needs of children are parceled out among a hopeless confusion of agencies with diverse objectives, conflicting jurisdictions, and imperfect channels of communication. The school, the health department, churches, welfare services, youth organizations, the medical profession, libraries, the police, recreation programs -- all of these see the children and parents of the community at one time or another, but no one of them is concerned with the total pattern of life for children and families in the community. If such child and family oriented institutions and activities were to be established, what might they be like? Here are some possibilities:

1. Commission for Children and Families. Such a Commission, established at the community or neighborhood level, would have as its initial charge finding out what the community is doing, or not doing, for its children and their families. The Commission would examine the adequacy of existing programs such as maternal and child health services, day care facilities, and recreational opportunities. It would also investigate what places and people are available to children when they are not in school, what opportunities they have for play, challenging activities, or useful work, and to whom they can turn for guidance or assistance. The Commission would also assess the existing and needed resources in the community that provide families with opportunities for learning, living, and leisure that involve common activity across levels of age, ability, knowledge, and skill.

In order to accomplish its task, the Commission would need to include representatives of the major institutions concerned with children and families, as well as other segments of community life such as business, industry, and labor. Especially important is inclusion on the Commission of teenagers and older children who can speak directly from their own experiences. The Commission would be expected to report its findings and recommendations to appropriate executive bodies and to the public at large through mass media. After completing the initial assessment phase, the Commission would assume continued responsibility for developing and monitoring programs to implement its recommendations.

2. Neighborhood Family Centers. Families are strengthened through association with each other in common activities and responsibilities. For this to occur, there must be places where families can meet in order to work and play together. The Neighborhood Family Center is such a place. Located in the school, church, or other community building, it provides a focal point for leisure and learning and community problem solving to all family members. The Center offers facilities for games and creative activities that could be engaged in by persons of all ages with space for those who prefer merely to "watch the fun". To eliminate fragmentation of services, the Center can also serve as the local 'one door" entry point for obtaining family services in the areas of health, child care, legal aid, welfare, etc. The Center differs from the traditional community center in emphasizing cross-age rather than age-segregated activities.

3. Community and Neighborhood Projects. Community organizations should be encouraged to provide a variety of activities which enable different generations to have contact and become a significant part of each other's lives. Through community sponsored projects, individuals of all ages can grow in their appreciation of each other as they learn to give to one another through a sharing of their talents and skills. The growing interest in ecology -- cleaning up the environment -- provides an excellent focus for such common endeavors, since it requires a variety of knowledges, skills, and services. Concern for the aged, the sick, and the lonely provide similar challenges. In the organization and execution of such projects, young people should participate not as subordinates but as active collaborators who can contribute ideas and direction as well as service. In addition to work projects, there is a need for recreational facilities and programs in which cross-age activities can take place (for example, family camps, fairs, games, picnics, etc.).

4. Participation of Youth in Local Policy Bodies. In keeping with the principle that young people become responsible by being given and held accountable for responsibilities that really matter, every community organization having jurisdiction over activities affecting children and youth should include some teenagers and older children as voting members. This would include such organizations as school boards, welfare commissions, recreation commissions, and hospital boards.

5. Community and Neighborhood Planning. Much of what happens to children and families in a community is determined by the ecology of the neighborhood in which the family lives. The implication of this principle for our own times is illustrated in a recent research report on the effect of the so-called "new towns" on the lives of children. It is perhaps characteristic that the question was raised not within our own society but in West Germany. The study compared the actions of children living in 18 new "model communities" with those from youngsters living in older German cities. The research was conducted by the Urban and Planning Institute in Nuremberg in collaboration with the Institute of Psychology at the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg. As of this writing, copies of the technical report are not yet available in this country; the following are excerpts from a special bulletin to the New York Times (May 9, 1971):

> In the new towns of West Germany, amid soaring rectangular shapes of apartment houses with shaded walks, big lawns and fenced-in play areas, the children for whom much of this has been designed apparently feel isolated, regimented and bored...
>
> The study finds that the children gauge their freedom not by the extent of open areas around them, but by the liberty they have to be among people and things that excite them and fire their imaginations...
>
> Children in the older cities seemed enthusiastic about their surroundings, painting a great amount of detail into a variety of things they found exciting around them, according to those who interpreted their art.

> The children in the model communities often painted what were considered despairing pictures of the world the adults had fashioned for them, depicting an uninviting, concrete fortress of cleanliness and order and boredom.

The implications of the research are self evident. In the planning and design of new communities, housing projects, and urban renewal, the planners, both public and private, need to give explicit consideration to the kind of world that is being created for the children who will be growing up in these settings. Particular attention should be given to the opportunities which the environment presents or precludes for involvement of children with persons both older and younger than themselves. Among the specific factors to be considered are the location of shops and businesses where children could have contact with adults at work, recreational and day care facilities readily accessible to parents as well as children, provision for a Family Neighborhood Center and family oriented facilities and services, availability of public transportation, and, perhaps most important of all, places to walk, sit, and talk in common company.

It is perhaps most fitting to end this discussion with a proposal for nothing more radical than providing a setting in which young and old can simply set and talk. The fact that such settings are disappearing and have to be deliberately recreated points both to the roots of the problem and its remedy. The evil, and the cure, lie not with the victims of alienation but in the social institutions which produce it, and their failure to be responsive to the most human needs and values of our democratic society.

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